NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLIII.

APRIL, 1886.

GAMBETTA'S ELECTORAL TOUR.

AT Cavaillon, in 1876, Gambetta had an adventure with a Royalist mob. His friends claimed that this was an attempt to assassinate him, and said that the mob had been imported from Avignon for the purpose. These same Avignonnais, they said, had in 1819 slain, and cast into the Rhone, Marshal Brune for offering his services to Napoleon I. on his return from Elba, and, as they escaped punishment then, they believed they did not incur any risk in committing a similar outrage upon Gambetta. On this subject Madame Adam has been pleased to supply us with some pages of her unpublished Memoirs, in which our readers will find a narrative of the affair at Cavaillon told by Gambetta himself in a letter which now appears in print for the first time.—THE EDITOR.

I.

ON that day, as was his custom once or twice a week, Gambetta returned from the Chamber with Adam, coming in to dine and bid us good-by. He was starting on an election tour through the South, having to deliver addresses at Orange, Avignon, Cavaillon, and Marsailles.

At table I asked Gambetta :

"Who accompanies you this time ?"

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"Nobody."

"What, nobody! You are going alone into a country like Avignon and Cavaillon where the conspiracies of the reaction give your friends unusual alarm! What are your usual companions on these occasions doing? Spuller, for instance?"

He interrupted me with a little temper:

"They are all busy with their own affairs and I have approved of what they are doing. Let us not speak further of the matter."

"You know very well that I cannot be silenced with a word like that. I will speak of it. The recollection of Marshal Brune occurs to me."

"She is right," said Adam, "Juliette and I know the South even better than you do, and you run a risk in going alone to speak against the reaction."

"Oh, nonsense! These places are changed since 1819. Besides, I should not be sorry to find that political parties in France were so ardent as to attempt a crime. I say attempt, because my hour is not yet come. Reassure yourself. The only thing that can kill me is indifference."

The dinner over, while we were taking our coffee in the drawing-room, Adam went to his room to get his best cigars, a very important matter for Gambetta, who was a gluttonous smoker. Leaving our guest alone for a moment, I ran after Adam.

"You must accompany him," I said, "we would be truly responsible if any misfortune happened him. Let me arrange about this trip."

"Why, I ask nothing better," said Adam with animation; "but you see yourself he has not uttered a word that would encourage me, and, in truth, I might perhaps annoy him. Indeed, I have not ventured to propose the matter to him. Do you do it."

I returned to Gambetta, excusing myself.

"I left you," I said, "to ask Adam to accompany you. I saw clearly that he was anxious to do so himself."

"As I hesitated about asking him myself," replied Gambetta, "I counted on you, and I was not wrong. Will he come?"

"Indeed he will, joyfully."

The evening passed very gaily. All arrangements were made for their departure next morning, and here is the very remarkable letter I received from Gambetta some days afterward:

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II.

BRUYÈRES, JUAN GULF, *Tuesday, February* 22, 1876.

My Dear Friend,

I had need to find out where I was, to recover possession of myself, as it were, after this prodigious debauch of noise, speechifying and traveling after bestowing myself without reserve, responding with impassioned prodigality to this devouring eagerness of the South. I felt crushed, older by ten years, voiceless and unstrung. Nature alone could restore my shattered equilibrium.

I have come to Bruyères * as to my nurse, and, thanks to the sun, to sleep and to silence, I have awakened to life again. *Bonjour mon frère!*

But do not go and think that, throughout the distractions of politics, and even the acclamations of the crowd, I have once lost sight of the noble absent one who gave me the best of guides and protectors for this laborious journey.†

I am about to narrate to you our Odyssey point by point, however, and you will thus get a correct idea of our tribulations, our struggles, and our triumphs.

WEDNESDAY, *February* 16, 1876.—We leave Paris with Adam. I am ravished at the notion of bringing with me a senator of such distinguished bearing. He is one of the most significant figures of our Republican senate. He is in himself a living proof of the excellence of the new institution, and his presence says more for it than long speeches.

We dined, badly, at the Lyons station; looked for compensation, and found it in a delicious smoke. The myrtle is always there!‡ We gathered its blossoms until eleven; and towards Auxerre we made our preparations for the night. The cold became biting. I rolled myself in my rabbit-skin furs—those furs so much and so justly held up to the scorn of Europe (*tant et si justement denoncéers à l'indignation de l'Europe*)—and fell asleep.

* The Bruyères villa, on the Juan Gulf belonged to us, and Gambetta spent some of his holidays there every year.

† Gambetta alludes to my having insisted that he should be accompanied by Adam.

‡ Gambetta never traveled without a box of cigars. Often in his excursions he carried it under his arm. Recalling, during one of his visits to Bruyères, the Leghorn hat, I had dubbed this box "the myrtle."

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I don't know how my traveling companion managed. For myself, I passed a perfect night—happy dreams, gentle sleep, and gentle warmth. I awoke ten minutes before reaching Orange, fresh as a fish.

His lordship, Edmond Adam, informs me that the night has been full of accidents. The train was delayed an hour, which is a serious matter for a train with a fast reputation. We have, it appears, been in misfortune. I had no suspicion of it. O what a fine conscience is mine! Confess that I would make a great saint if I were not such a pagan.

I make an apology for a toilet in the railway carriage. Just imagine! I find the station at Orange crowded! Gent is a master-mind; he will have everything prepared as for a battle. It promises well; it is a 17;* and the morning is divine. The sun is warm. The earth glistens and opens, and is already beginning to feel the emanations of the spring. Forward! I feel glorious. Let the people come on! I am ready.

ORANGE, 9:30, *February* 17, 1876.—We are at the station. I get out of my old rags, and discern the lofty stature of Alphonse Gent, who is running along the different carriages to ascertain where I am.

I straightway drop into the arms of the most serene Adam. I unpack myself gradually and here I am on the quay. The crowd is waiting outside, and amid a thousand shouts of "*Vive la République!*" we pass through the gate. An open carriage was ready for us. We got into it with the different leaders of the local Democracy; and then began, throughout the length of the prettiest little town in the world, an interminable oration in which the women took the largest share.

Naturally, the longest route was selected; and, it being a market day, our triumphal march was executed in slow time. An hour had to pass before the procession reached the repository,† the residence of M. Monvier, son of our late colleague.

The dwelling is fine and spacious, surrounded by a delightful park, which the people invaded.

These enthusiastic vivats must be responded to. I sacrifice

* An allusion to one of my suspicions with regard to the number 7.

† "*Reposoir*," the altar on which the Host is temporarily deposited after being borne in Catholic processions.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

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myself, and win the right to rest for half an hour in a Louis XV. bed-chamber, fitted up as if to receive a king again. Nothing is wanting. A fire, a complete toilet, and a charming little impromptu breakfast. I do honor to everything.

But time skips, and my friends come to fetch me to the heart of the town, to the banquet which is to bring together the Republicans of the circumscription.

New procession, heart-stirring repast, enthusiastic toasts. But the people must have their turn. An immense livery-stable had been fitted up for a meeting-place. Everybody enters as he pleases, until more than 3,000 persons are present, and I am forced to mount an improvised tribune.

It is, indeed, the sort of audience I love—workingmen, peasants, humble folk whose native generosity, the virginity of reason, has not been violated by the touch of civilization. It is for them I fight, for them I go beyond myself, for them I speak with all my soul, without care for appearances, for the press, for stenography, for the *beau monde*. And what a collision of feeling, what a sympathy, what a mutual love we have felt for each other, piercing and thrilling us through, this audience and I!

I talked with them of our hopes and our duties, our past glories and our past shames. I gave the pretensions of the reaction and of Cæsarism their just due.

I paid public homage to Gent in the presence of his fellow-townsmen. I have passed on, and he has been elected. I am proud of my work and satisfied with myself.

This over, we had to leave and continue our journey. A deputation had come from Carpentras, begging us to pass through this pretty town, which has been too much laughed at and is too little known. I yielded. We stepped into a carriage and undertook a tedious journey of sixty kilometres across fields, so as to take in Carpentras on our way to Cavaillon.

But we had to get away from Orange first, and I thought at one moment that we would never find an outlet, so thick and dense and loving was the pressure of the crowd around us. It was necessary to shake every outstretched hand, and only after a thousand speeches would they leave the course clear, and not without overwhelming us with benedictions and flowers.

At last we are outside of Orange on a highway lined with olive trees, on a plain stretching out to the foot of Mount Ventoux,

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crowned with eternal snows, under a sky of lapis-lazuli, which a sun worthy of Attica strikes with his golden arrows.

We exclaim in unison:

"Is this Greek enough?" We light a myrtle. I drink in the beams of Mithra* and plunge myself in thought. I think out my speech for Cavaillon.

We gallop through the loveliest villages. Everywhere the people run flocking around us. The children, the women know my name and associate it with that of the Republic. The peasants leave the furrow and stop the carriage. They ask the news of the rest of France, and depart with joyous air and humid eyes. For they have learned that in three days France will be freed.

After two hours and a half of a mad race through the plain, the richest in the world, we turn the base of Mount Ventoux and get a glimpse of Carpentras, like a white crown on a vast hill. Carpentras, that old Celtic nest, Carpenteracte, has still an old Gallic and almost sacred air, surrounded as it is with plane trees, green oats, and long and gloomy cypresses.

At the outskirts of the town we were met by our late prefect, the candidate of the day, Ch. Ponjade, with the greater part of the inhabitants. We are obliged to move slowly in order to shake hands with all these good people. Among them are the young girls of the place in festal attire, with hands full of flowers. The cortege advances, and we climb step by step the monumental stairway that leads to this lofty and ancient city, an acropolis gilded by the sun of the South.

The crowd visibly grows thicker, and soon it becomes impossible to advance or retreat! We try entreaties, but without avail. They have us and they wish to keep us. I resign myself like a brave man, and let these worthy people gratify their desire.

At last the public passion is calmed, and we resumed our ascent. Behold us at the culminating point, an immense forum surrounded by high walls. Ranks and classes are all confounded. I catch sight of a colossal projection, under which I cause the carriage to be halted, and there, standing before that immense crowd, I give full rein to all my political feeling.

May Apollo pardon me! It is the climate alone that is respon-

*An allusion to my stories of the Juan Gulf, which Gambetta preferred to the volumes I had published up to that time, on account of one story—"Patrie."

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sible for this. But I cannot contain myself in this wonderful atmosphere. It seems to me that all this country is but an enormous rostrum, and, for the first time, I feel within myself organ tones enough to venture on haranguing Immensity. They understood what was passing in my soul, they answered the cries that I uttered, they completed for themselves the thoughts that I had only sketched.

We separated regretfully, they keeping me, and I carrying them away with me in my heart. Oh, what a life! and how can it be prolonged?

We issued from the magnificent embraces of a whole people, weak and thirsty, and yet afraid to stop in the surrounding villages lest we should miss our journey. We heartily quenched our thirst in a miserable hut, whose wretched inhabitants will never forget me, I hope.

At last, for I must abridge, we reached Cavaillon about five in the evening, in the most magnificent sunset that ever served to frame a popular festival.

CAVAILLON, *February 17, evening.*—I say nothing of the Isle, which we hurried through at a trot, and where I was not able to say anything to the people, who are at bottom thoroughly Republican, the authorities having forbidden me to speak.*

I entered Cavaillon.

I am now in my circumscription of Vaucluse, where I have accepted the invitation to engage in a hand-to-hand battle against fraud and organized robbery. The whole city is afoot; all along the boulevards every head is uncovered and bent, and every hand applauds. The Republic hovers above me and fills the air. An immense cortege surrounds us and conducts us to the hotel prepared for our reception, and in which is to be held the political meeting announced by our friends.

Before going up to the apartments prepared for us, I felt compelled to address some words of gratitude and some counsels of prudence to this enthusiastic population. At last we separated. Here began the Legitimist counter-demonstration, of which a garbled account must have reached your ears, and of which I shall give you the true story.

*Gambetta only said these words and they had a great success—"Au revoir, until better times!"

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As soon as we had retired to our rooms we heard a veritable uproar under our windows—shouts, hisses, insulting apostrophes. I made inquiries and learned that several carriages and omnibuses had just arrived from Avignon and unloaded under our windows a band of one hundred and thirty or two hundred individuals picked up in the vilest places—panders, prize fighters, ex-convicts, professional thieves and assassins—whom the fine gentlemen of moral order had hired to treat us to a charivari.

They were unfortunate in arriving late, but they did their best to make up for lost time, and, by my faith, they succeeded rarely. In the midst of them might be seen the Mayor of Cavaillon in person, and the leaders of the Legitimist party, directing their maneuvers and exciting their passions. All went famously. I advised our friends to disperse, in order to free the people of Cavaillon from all connection with what was going on. "Let the hissers hiss; we shall take note of these nice blackbirds." No sooner said than done.

Just after this resolution, which was immediately put into effect, the disturbers withdrew, and under the guidance of the rustic patricians (*patriciens du crû*) gave themselves up to drunken orgies in the neighboring taverns.

Our friends were calm, or pretended to be so, and we went to take our place at the banquet that had been prepared for us. At this juncture we received intelligence from Avignon, warning us that our enemies had organized a regular ambuscade and enjoining us to adopt the strictest precautions if we did not want to be victims of the most odious outrages.

The most tragic emotion spread among the guests. Naturally, I tried to dispel all these apprehensions, but I have to confess my words produced no effect. Our friends knew the country better than we did. They were much disturbed and conjured up the most sinister memories. They predict the fate of Marshal Brune's fame, who was assassinated by a ruffianly rabble in 1819. They cite the names and exploits of the bandits who figured in the manifestation of five o'clock. In short the anguish was general, and my attempts at irony were powerless. The bloody shadow of Brune hovered over the feast.

It was here that his Senatorship Adam proved his extraordinary value, and acted like a regular general on the field. He calms and orders about everybody; he has arms distributed; puts

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every man in his right place; and, sword in hand, is ready to receive the assailants, no matter who they are. It was an inspiration of genius to give him to me as a mentor. Without him I would not, perhaps, have been here; his coolness and energy saved everything without fuss and without weakness.

Useless to tell what followed, except in its main features. You have read the story in the papers. I resume. It is clear to me that the organizers of all this disorder grew frightened at their work and shrank back before the responsibility they had assumed. When their bull-dogs were drunk they lost all control over them. They had a glimpse of the frightful conflict that was about to be let loose, *and they came to beg of me* to intervene in the interests of order for which they could no longer be answerable.

I hastened to act and met complete success. I showed these wretches what true moral force was, and have been able to unravel a horrible situation without effusion of blood.

Nevertheless, about eleven at night, when I had to go to the country seat of one of our friends where I was to sleep,* our carriage was assailed by some brigands. Adam did effective work with his cane; I saw him even reach his hand to his revolver. Happily the horses dashed off at full speed, and our enemies had only a useless demonstration for their pains.

All is well. Here I am in a delightful villa. I sleep like a choir-boy, and wake next morning fresh as a rose of Provins and as ruddy.

We go across fields towards Oregon (on the banks of the Durance, where Bonaparte had a narrow escape from being strangled, in 1815). The entire village came to the station to cheer us and to protest against the dreadful scenes of the night before. Brave people, I reassure them with a word, and announce good news to them.

Then we move on Marseilles, by Salon, the country of roses, keeping close to the undecided course of the Durance.

What a river is this Durance!

The naïad who presides over its current must be the most shameless wanton among the daughters of Peleus. No one knows where her bed is, she changes it every day, she swells without rhyme or reason, and overruns the country with her outbursts contrary to all law.

* The Chateau of St. Estève.

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Along the railroad the people came in crowds to salute and cheer us. We are hailed with shouts of "*Vive la République!*" In good Latin, I say to myself this is a propitious augury.

MARSEILLES, *February* 18, 1876.—Here is the real field of battle; here we must conquer or die! To conquer every where else and fail here would be to win but a hollow victory. The lukewarm, the tremblers, the cowards would see their ruin in my defeat. We must conquer them. I am going to make ready for it.

I disembark and assemble my troops. I enkindle their spirit. My meetings have been interdicted. I shall hold a hundred of them. I am sure of the number. I have them. I wish to feel the pulse of opinion, and I go to the great lyric theater. I do not know how the rumor ran through the city that I had engaged a box, but the news spread like a train of powder, and Marseilles was present. The crowd filled the square; the carriage was stopped; I had to descend and mount slowly through a human wall, the flight of steps that led to the theater. The people cheered us; within the hall was packed.

As I entered they were paying the "Moses" of Mebul. Strange thing! the Pharaoh was singing

"Lo! the sun appears and all nature bows!"

The spectators rose with shouts of "*Vive Gambetta! Vive la République!*" The performance was suspended. The public and the actors could not tire of applauding. At last I was able to restore silence and the performance went on again.

The test of popular feeling has been made, the victory for to-morrow is assured!

My sole thought now is to manage my exit so as to escape a crushing. I left Adam and some friends at the edge of the box and stole behind the curtain. But I had reckoned without the vigilance of the public, and the same oration was renewed on my leaving. I was conducted back to the hotel. There were gathered the greater number of my friends and I kept up a conversation with them till one o'clock in the morning.

I have put on the walls my last proclamation, in which, without any ambiguity, I have left them to choose between two policies.

This proclamation has become the very bulletin of victory.

It is done, and done well.

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SATURDAY, *February* 19, 1876.—Another meeting, another address.

In the evening another meeting of all the committees. I described anew the nature of to-morrow's ballot. The evening was magnificent. Adam was cheered to the echo. He is now hopelessly Marseillais and for the greatest good of the National Republic.

As for myself, worn out as I am, I am going to sleep, tranquil as to our success, but resolved to leave Marseilles for Nice, so as not to die of fatigue in the bosom of triumph.

SUNDAY, *February* 20, 1876.—Here we are on the way to Nice.

I sleep, I feel only half alive, I am utterly exhausted.

I have assisted at all that has passed like an automaton, doing things mechanically without being conscious of them.

I long to get away, to reach Bruyères, the sea, silence and sleep.

MONDAY, *February* 21, 1876.—Great joy! But I can hardly support it, I am so weak.

When shall I get away?

TUESDAY, *February* 22, 1876.—At last, we leave Nice and mankind.

Here we are at Bruyères.

I am going to sleep.

I sleep.

I have slept.

I will tell you to-morrow all the good this country is doing me, the cure this retreat has wrought upon me—but I will not say much about these things until I have first thoroughly enjoyed them.

Yours, before long and entirely,

LÉON GAMBETTA.

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GENERALS SHERMAN AND McPHERSON.

In the March number of the North American Review, among the "Unpublished War Letters of Generals Grant and Halleck," there was printed a dispatch from General Grant to President Lincoln, which the length of the article made it necessary to abridge. But so general a desire has been expressed to read the letter unabridged, that I comply with the requests of my correspondents, and now publish it entire:

GENERAL GRANT TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF TENNESSEE,
VICKSBURG, MISS., *July* 22, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY, A. LINCOLN, *President of the United States*,
Washington, D. C.:

I would most respectfully but urgently recommend the promotion of Major-General W. T. Sherman, now commanding the Fifteenth Army Corps, and Major-General J. B. McPherson, commanding the Seventeenth Army Corps, to the position of brigadier-general in the regular army. The first reason for this is their great fitness for any command it may ever become necessary to intrust to them. Second, their great purity of character and disinterestedness in anything except the faithful performance of their duty, and the success of every one engaged in the great battle for the preservation of the Union. Third, they have honorably won this distinction upon many well fought battle-fields. I will only mention some of his services while serving under my command.

To General Sherman I was greatly indebted for his promptness in forwarding to me, during the siege of Fort Donelson, re-enforcements and supplies from Paducah. At the battle of Shiloh, on the first day, he held with raw troops the key points to the landing. To his individual effort I am indebted for the success of that battle. Twice hit, and (I think three) horses shot under him on that day, he maintained his position with his raw troops. It is no disparagement to any other officer to say that I do not believe there was another Division Commander on the field who had the skill or experience to have done it. His service as Division Commander in the advance on Corinth, I will venture, were appreciated by the (now) General-in-Chief beyond those of any other Division Commander. General Sherman's management, as commander of troops in the attack on Chickasaw Bluff, last December, was admirable. Seeing

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the ground from the opposite side of the attack, I see the impossibility of making it successful. The conception of the attack on Arkansas Post was General Sherman's. His part of the execution no one denies was as good as it possibly could have been. His demonstration on Haine's Bluff, in April, to hold the enemy at Vicksburg whilst the army was securing a foothold east of the Mississippi; his rapid march to join the army afterwards; his management at Jackson, Mississippi, in the first attack; his almost unequalled march from Jackson to Bridgeport, and passage of that stream; his securing Walnut Hill, on the 18th of May, and thus opening communication with our supplies—all attest his great merits as a soldier.

The siege of Vicksburg, the last capture of Jackson, and the dispersion of Johnston's army, entitle General Sherman to more credit than it usually falls to the lot of one man to earn.

General McPherson has been with me in every battle since the commencement of the rebellion, except Belmont. At Henry, Donelson, Shiloh and the siege of Corinth, as a staff officer and engineer, his services were conspicuous and highly meritorious. At the second battle of Corinth his skill as a soldier was displayed in successfully carrying re-enforcements to the besieged garrison when the enemy was between him and the point to be reached. In the advance through central Mississippi, last November and December, General McPherson commanded one wing of the army with all the ability possible to show, he having the lead in advance and the rear in return. In the campaign and siege, terminating in the fall of Vicksburg, General McPherson has borne a conspicuous part. At the battle of Port Gibson, it was under his immediate direction that the enemy was driven, late in the afternoon, from a position that they had succeeded in holding all day against an obstinate attack. His corps, the advance always under his immediate eye, were the pioneers in the advance from Port Gibson to Hankerson's Ferry. From the North Fork of Bayou Pierre to the Black River it was a constant skirmish, the whole skillfully managed. The enemy was so closely pressed as to be unable to destroy their bridge of boats after them. From Hankerson's Ferry to Jackson the 17th Army Corps marched upon roads not traveled by other troops, fighting the battle of Raymond alone; and the bulk of Johnston's army at Jackson also was fought by this corps entirely under the management of General McPherson. At Champion Hill, the 17th Army Corps and General McPherson were conspicuous. All that could be termed a battle there was fought by two divisions of General McPherson's Corps and Hovey's division of the 13th Corps.

In the assault of the 22d May on the fortifications of Vicksburg, and during the entire siege, General McPherson and his command won unfading laurels. He is one of our ablest engineers and most skillful generals.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, *Major-General.*

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CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN RHODE ISLAND.

THOSE who favor certain changes in the present constitution of Rhode Island are sometimes accused, unjustly I think, of a disposition to malign the institutions of the State. On the contrary, I think they are proud of its history, and seek to bring its present institutions into strict accordance with the principles upon which it was founded.

For many years before the adoption of a constitution the suffrage was limited to land-holders and their eldest sons. When this limitation was adopted it embraced a very great proportion of the adult male citizens of the State. But the development of manufactures had so changed the character of the population that not more than one-half of the adult male citizens had the right to vote. Attempts had been made from time to time to procure an extension of the suffrage under the authority of the Legislature without result. In 1841 a movement was set on foot to procure a written constitution, with a liberal suffrage and a just representation in the Legislature, through a popular movement, but without the sanction of any existing law. The friends of this movement claimed that a written constitution had been adopted by a majority of the adult male citizens of the State, and proceeded to elect officers and organize a government under it. This government was suppressed by military force in the summer of 1842, and the General Assembly provided by law for a convention to frame a constitution, which was adopted in the autumn of that year. The members of this convention comprised many of the leading men in the State of both the old political parties—Whigs and Democrats—who had united under the name of the Law and Order Party. The friends of a liberal suffrage were not represented in the convention. The men who controlled the convention were strongly attached to a limited suffrage, and very reluctantly yielded to the popular demand for its extension. The constitution adopted provides that all male citizens having the prescribed residence and

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owning a certain interest in real estate, shall have the right to vote; that all *native* male citizens who pay a tax on personal property shall have the right to vote; that all *native* male citizens who voluntarily pay a registry tax or perform certain military services, shall have the right to vote, but only tax-payers shall have a right to vote upon questions involving the imposition of taxes or the expenditure of money. The effect of these provisions is to disfranchise citizens of foreign birth and to create a large class of voters subject to the control of politicians; these are known as registry voters. Under the constitution, and laws in pursuance thereof, persons desiring to secure the benefit of this provision must register their names, in person, on or before the 31st of December in each year, and pay the tax early in the following January. The registration thus occurs at a time when no election is pending, and when working-men have little inducement to lose their time by a visit to the office of the town or city clerk, or to pay a dollar for the privilege of voting. The result is that the number of registry voters is limited, and the taxes of those who do register are paid by aspirants for political office. It is very generally admitted that the practical operation of this provision in the constitution has been mischievous, but, while few citizens defend it, the politicians who profit by it have hitherto defeated all efforts to procure its repeal.

In 1881 a numerously signed petition was presented to the General Assembly for an act providing for a convention to consider a revision of the constitution to be submitted to the people for their adoption. The committee to whom this petition was referred reported that the General Assembly had no power to pass such an act, and accompanied their report with an argument in defense of the existing system in relation to citizens of foreign birth. The petition was renewed at the subsequent session of the General Assembly, and the opinion of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the State was asked by the Legislature as to its power to provide for a convention: the answer of the judges denied the power. Soon after there appeared in the "Providence Journal" an article understood to be from the pen of ex-Chief-Justice Bradley, criticising and controverting the opinion of the judges; afterward Chief-Justice Durfee published a pamphlet defending his opinion and that of his associates, to which ex-Chief-Justice Bradley has since published an elaborate reply.

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The constitution provides for its amendment in the following manner: The proposed amendment, having been voted for by a majority of all the members elected to each house of the General Assembly, is to be published, and if voted for in the same manner by the next General Assembly, a new election of members having intervened, it is then to be submitted to the qualified voters, and if adopted by three-fifths of those voting thereon, becomes a part of the constitution.

In the opinion of the Justices of the Supreme Court no lawful change can be made in the constitution except in this mode of amendment; on the other hand, ex-Chief-Justice Bradley contends that this power of specific amendment does not exclude the power of the General Assembly to provide for a convention, and he defends this position by an exhaustive review of the subject, historically, and by a critical examination of the constitution of the State. If the opinion of the judges be correct the sovereign power of the State is permanently vested in two-fifths of the qualified voters; if the opinion of ex-Chief-Justice Bradley be sustained the sovereign power is where Roger Williams and his associates placed it—in the hands of the "major part in civil things only." Evidently this is a question on which men may differ, although the usage of the States of this Union is consistent and uniform and sustains the opinion of ex-Chief-Justice Bradley that the Legislature may provide for a convention, whether the existing constitution does or does not provide a mode of specific amendment. But I do not consider it a question of much practical importance; whenever a majority of the people desire a convention it will be provided for by an act of the Legislature, and the constitution recommended by the convention, if adopted by the people, will become the fundamental law of the State, and the courts organized under its authority will recognize the validity of the power which creates them.

The practical question is, whether such a convention is expedient and desirable? Those who deny the expediency say that the people are satisfied with the present constitution, and that the limited suffrage for citizens of foreign birth is prudent and reasonable: it is said that any such citizen may qualify himself to vote by investing one hundred and thirty-four dollars in real estate; but those who take this position overlook the fact that this class of our people reside in the cities or large manufacturing towns, and can make no profitable investment in real estate with

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less than the outlay of one thousand or fifteen hundred dollars. They further claim that the registry tax, which nobody defends, can be readily repealed by the specific mode of amendment provided in the constitution, although all attempts to obtain its repeal in this way have hitherto failed. Those who favor a convention claim that the disfranchisement of citizens of foreign birth is unjust, and produces discontent among a large and constantly increasing class of citizens of the State; that citizens of foreign birth, as a class, are as well qualified to vote as native citizens engaged in similar occupations. It is sometimes said that these citizens "have come among us without our invitation, and that upon their departure there is no restraint;" but this is not the case; they have come among us invited by the ample reward here given to faithful industry and by a cordial welcome from a people inclined by the traditions of their origin to extend hospitality to men of all nations and of every creed, and, upon their departure, there are all the restraints that keep men in the homes which they have chosen. They only ask that no invidious distinction shall be made between them and other citizens of the State and of the United States. Advocates of a convention say further that the registry tax will never be repealed until the majority of the people have the opportunity to act upon the question. It would be easy to show by statistics, to insert which would, however, extend this article beyond its prescribed limits, that, as the result of disfranchisement of citizens of foreign birth and the practical operation of the registry tax, a very large proportion of the people of the State take no active part in its government. It seems reasonable that, after the lapse of nearly half a century, the people should have an opportunity to consider a general revision of their constitution.

I speak for no party, but I think I represent the views of many thoughtful citizens when I say that the welfare of the State would be promoted by a constitutional convention. There are those who think that an article prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors should form a part of the constitution of the State; and if such a prohibition is to be made at all it should be in the fundamental law, and not be a subject of party agitation at each annual election. There are those who think that the suffrage should be extended to women upon the same terms as to men. The petitions for this change in the constitution have been presented by such large numbers of men and women that both Houses

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of the General Assembly at the session in January, 1885, voted in favor of a proposition to submit an amendment to this effect to the people, but either by accident or design too late for its publication according to the provisions of the constitution. There are those who think that a more equal representation of the people in the Legislature should be provided for. There are those who desire a change in the mode of appointment of judges and in the tenure of the judicial office. There are those who desire constitutional restrictions upon corporations and upon the power of the Legislature to expend the money collected by taxes from the people.

Whether a majority of the people desire any or all of these changes can only be ascertained by submitting the question to them for their decision. If a convention shall be held and shall submit a revision of the constitution to the people, and it be approved by them, it will become the fundamental law; if rejected, all will acknowledge the right of the people and accept the decision. So long as the party in power refuses to provide for a convention there will be a sense of injustice among large classes of the population. Those who defend a limited suffrage often take the trouble to explain that the right to vote is not a natural right. This expression may sometimes have been used by the advocates of impartial suffrage, but what they mean is, that it is a right which ought to be conferred by society upon all who are qualified for its exercise; strictly speaking, it is no *right* at all, but a *trust*, imposed upon the individual by the State, to be executed in good faith for the public welfare. I have no fear of what is called universal suffrage. I think that the power to vote should be imposed upon the citizen to be exercised for the welfare of the State, and that every resident citizen, without distinction of sex or race or place of nativity, should be clothed with this power and made to feel its responsibility. I think the danger to the institutions of the State lies not in the direction of the extension of political power to the people, but in its limitation to special classes of the citizens. A government of the people by the people for the people, if it means anything, means a government by the permanent will of the majority of the whole people lawfully expressed. Abraham Lincoln, as was his wont, stated the case in concise and accurate language when he said that "government by a minority is either anarchy or despotism."

ABRAHAM PAYNE.

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II.

Mr. Payne, in the preceding paper, refers to a report made to the General Assembly upon the subject which he discusses, and elsewhere he has said that that report was written by me. These facts may justify me in presenting a few paragraphs by way of reply to Mr. Payne's attack upon the constitution and laws of Rhode Island.

Mr. Payne caused to be published in the Providence "Journal," under date of November 1, 1885, a paper which tends to elucidate the preceding paper and to mark with distinctness the difference between him and the constituted authorities of Rhode Island in reference to the matter he here discusses. In that paper he says:

> "If there be any practical meaning in the declaration that the sovereign power is in the people, no act of the General Assembly could have compelled the people to elect delegates to a convention. Such an act would be simply a request issued to the people, and providing a mode of proceeding in case they should elect to comply with the request. In the case under consideration (the Dorr Constitution) the request was issued by a mass meeting; if the people chose to comply with the request, to send delegates to the convention, and to accept the recommendation of their delegates, and adopt the constitution framed by them, it is difficult to see why their act would not be as valid as if the request had been issued by the General Assembly."

Mr. Payne's contention, therefore, amounts to this: No matter by whom a convention may be called, no matter who may elect the delegates, but if delegates are elected, and a constitution is formed, and is voted upon, and declared to be adopted, though all of these proceedings be without any form of law and without reference to the constituted authorities, such a constitution would become the fundamental law of a State.

My contention is, that when a State constitution contains a provision for its own amendment, in which the Legislature is to take the initiatory proceedings, that the only ways in which such a constitution can be altered or changed is either in accordance with the provision contained in the constitution or by revolution.

There is a margin of ground for discussion between the contentions of Mr. Payne and myself involving the right of a legislature to initiate changes in a constitution in other methods than those prescribed in the constitution. It is quite enough to say here, that my contention denies the validity of such a proceeding, and that I do not understand Mr. Payne to assert its validity.

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I think a constitution may be defined to be the instrument in a State under which a government is formed, or continued, and the powers of government are distributed and its agencies are limited. A constitution determines what shall be the qualification of voters, and limits their power. It limits the powers of the legislature, of the executive, and of the judiciary. The limit imposed by the constitution on the people themselves is the power here brought into consideration.

It appears to me that as a consequence of the argument of Mr. Payne, that by the term "people" he does not limit himself to the class in the State who are voters, who hold the political power in the State, as I do; for, when he undertakes to limit the power to alter a constitution to a class, he looks to the constitution for his authority to indicate the class, and if he is to acknowledge the authority of that instrument for the designation of a class in the State who are the repositories of power, it is difficult for me to see how he is to escape from accepting the constitution as a whole.

The term people, when made use of in the sense of electing delegates to a constitutional convention, means the people clothed with the elective franchise (see "General Principles Const. Law," by Cooley, Boston, 1880, p. 267). This term is used in a broader sense in connection with certain constitutional guaranties.

Mr. Webster, speaking upon a question similar to that which is being considered, said:

"I have said that it is one principle of the American system that the people limit their governments, national and State. They do so; but it is another principle, equally true and certain, and, according to my judgment of things, equally important, that the people often *limit themselves*. They set bounds to their own power. They have chosen to secure the institutions which they establish against the sudden impulses of *mere* majorities."

Washington, in his farewell address, says:

"If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

In this paragraph Washington recognized that there were but two methods of changing a constitution—one by the method prescribed in the constitution, and the other by usurpation.

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Curtis, in his "History of the Constitution," says:

"The existence and operation of a prescribed method of changing particular features of a government mark the line between amendment and revolution."

Judge Cooley says:

"The people, in the sense used in constitutions, as being the source of authority, is the body of electors created under the constitution, and they can amend a constitution only by legitimate modes, which must either be prescribed in the constitution, or, in the absence of a prescribed mode, by authority of the law-making power."

The judges of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, in an opinion given by them, are in accord with the authorities quoted. Madison, and even Calhoun, expressed opinions upon the general question here in issue in accord with these authorities.

Mr. Payne objects to the present constitution of Rhode Island, because it requires a property qualification for the voters who are authorized to vote upon questions involving the expenditure of money or the imposition of a tax; because it requires the payment of a tax of one dollar, or the performance of military duty, by persons who vote for officers, and because it makes a distinction in the qualification to vote between native and naturalized citizens.

The first and the last of these provisions, which have incurred the disapprobation of Mr. Payne, received the warm approval of the late Chancellor Kent, and I think that they each have their foundation in justice, for a man ought not to vote away the property of another unless he shares the burden he imposes upon his neighbor. This is a wholesome provision, and in operation has wrought no mischief. The distinction between the qualifications of the naturalized and native citizens is based upon the difference between natural and assumed allegiance. It is painfully apparent to every observer of the operation of our political system that the alien-born have but half a home in the land of their adoption.

Jefferson called attention to this subject in his "Notes on Virginia." He said:

"Nothing can be more opposed (to our system) than the maxims of absolute monarchy. Yet, from such, we are to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they have imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another.

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It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children," etc.

In view of this authority, it is not at all surprising that Senator Beck, of Kentucky, a sterling Jeffersonian Democrat, should be reported as objecting to the admission of Dakota into the Union, because of the alien birth of a large proportion of its population.

Martin Van Buren, that other Jeffersonian Democrat, said, with prophetic truth, in the convention for framing a constitution of New York in 1821, of the then impending proposition to fix the qualification of electors:

"It will give the city of New York about twenty-five thousand votes; while, under the liberal extension of the right on the choice of delegates to this convention, she had about thirteen thousand. That the character of the increased number of votes would be such as would render their elections rather a curse than a blessing, which would drive from the polls all sober-minded people; and such, he was happy to find, was the united opinion, or nearly so, of the delegation from that city."

Forty-seven per cent. of the population of Rhode Island are either alien-born or the children of the alien-born. Its industries have induced so large a portion of this class of people to come to reside in the State. The stability of the institutions of the State has nothing to apprehend from the native population.

The requirement of the non-property tax-paying voter to register his name and to pay a tax of one dollar is not a very great burden upon this class of people. No compulsory process can issue for the collection of the tax. Mr. Payne says that this tax is paid by other persons. If this is so, is such payment legal? It has been twice decided in England that the payment of a tax by one person to admit another to vote, with the intent that the person so admitted shall vote for a particular candidate or party, is an illegal payment, and that such payment does not qualify the person whose tax is thus paid to vote; and Cushing, in his "Law of Legislative Assemblies," believes that these decisions would be held to be law in this country. If this view of the law be correct, the evil of which Mr. Payne complains arises in administering this provision of the constitution, and not in the constitution. Any extension of the elective franchise beyond a proper limit brings in a less desirable class of voters. Usurpations and revolutions may be had without as well as with force, and may

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be resorted to even under the color of the forms of law, but because they are peaceably effected they are not the less dangerous to our American system of government, and there is developed, in this country and in England, a spirit, in certain classes of the population, of lawlessness which ought not to be encouraged, especially in this country, in any revolutionary or lawless act.

The policy of government and people in America ought to be directed in the line of the franchise laws of Rhode Island, to induce every laboring man in the land to obtain a home; for when he has a home for himself and family he no longer will be a subject of anxiety or care to those who have the real interests of the State at heart.

The landed qualification for naturalized citizens stimulates this class of persons to acquire homes. The possession of a home is a bond for good citizenship. Every laborer in the land ought to be encouraged to and to be assisted in obtaining a home, for when he has a home he will be a friend of order and law and opposed to riot and tumult.

Every man ought to be entrusted with the privilege of voting who has intelligence enough to know what is for the public benefit, and the integrity to use this privilege for the benefit of the public; but, unhappily, the State has no standard by which it can ascertain the exact intelligence and integrity of all its citizens. The possession of real property affords evidence of intention to remain in the locality of the property, and, inasmuch as the property will be affected by the action of the government, the holder of the property will become interested in the government so as to protect his property. Then, generally, the possession of property affords some evidence of the industry, economy, and prudence of its owner. At any rate, it has a tendency to bind the naturalized citizen to its locality. Property ought not to be a qualification to vote, but it affords evidence that its owner may have the proper qualifications. Under any rules yet devised, many men will be allowed to vote who are unfit repositories for the trust, and many others will be denied the privilege who would faithfully execute the trust. In this country there is more danger of extending the privilege of voting too broadly for the public good than there is to be apprehended from restricting it within too narrow limits.

W. P. SHEFFIELD.

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PLAN OF THE TENNESSEE CAMPAIGN.

Not long after the extra session of Congress was called to meet in July, 1861, Senator Breckinridge was promptly on the ground and took his seat. This was in exact accordance with the purpose for which he was sent—not at that time fully understood. But when he gave utterance to his secession views, and made his speech in aid of the disunion movement, and support of the Southern Confederacy, the entire animus of the movement was disclosed. I wrote a reply to that speech, intending it for publication, as a citizen of Maryland, and of the United States. It referred to every point he had made in favor of disunion; defended the President, as supreme ruler of the nation and its armies, in every action he had taken to save the Union; and showed the design of the conspirators against the Government in all they had done, to the first drop of blood shed to unite the South, and, as they vauntingly thought, to cut off the North, and establish their own independence as The Nation. As soon as it was printed, I sent a copy to the President through Attorney-General Bates. Mr. Lincoln returned his grateful thanks, saying it was the best defense of his rule that any one had ever made. Mr. Hamlin, the Vice-President, also expressed his gratification, as also did the various members of the Cabinet. This paper was largely circulated by the War Department as a "war measure."

Col. Scott showed me a paper from the President concerning this and other articles that I might write which would be valuable to the country.

During all the summer months of 1861 my time was mostly given to the preparation of writings to put the people in possession of the true theory of our Government and to define and defend the war powers it possesses.

In the fall, in compliance with an understanding from the Assistant Secretary of War, Col. Thomas A. Scott, indorsed by Mr. Lincoln, I concluded to go West and inform myself as to the mili-

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tary and political situation in that quarter. I promised to write anything valuable I obtained, and also to submit my writings for the Government to the Department (meaning to Mr. Lincoln), in advance of their publication: which was done. I soon found that, in the West, the cause of the Union was deemed hopeless, even by its strongest adherents.

Some of my recent articles had been copied into newspapers in the West, so that as I visited the various military camps I received a cordial welcome from the officers in command. I visited them all. It was a matter of much surprise to me to find so many people in that section impressed with the Southern doctrine of State Rights. Every now and then some one would say: "I am not surprised, Miss Carroll, that you are a Union woman, because your State is in the Union; but would you be if this were not the case?" It struck me there was danger then in the great North-west. Leaving Chicago, I went on to St. Louis, where I remained for some weeks.

While prosecuting my writing I was also diligently inquiring as to the best means of averting the dangers which threatened the Union.

At the Mercantile Library in St. Louis, where I went in search of books that I wanted, I met the brother of General Albert Sydney Johnston, who happened to be the librarian, and had read some of my papers in the press. Being the brother of the most famous soldier in that section of country, I gained from him a great deal of information as to what was expected to be accomplished. He had once lived in my vicinity, and readily told me his views on the prospect. This led to a very warm discussion, and drew many into the library to listen. He expressed astonishment that I, a Southern woman, should be working so vigorously against my section, and after all it would amount to nothing; that, by spring, the whole thing would be at an end; Price would have redeemed Missouri, and Buckner the whole of Kentucky; and, before spring, even, the party of peace would be at the front, and demand concessions from your Government or strike for independence." "Independence, indeed!" said I, "before spring your boasted independence as a nation will be at an end." "How," said he, "are you going to reduce the Mississippi?" I looked him in the face, surrounded by his friends, and said, "yes; before spring all the strongholds in your Mississippi will have vanished as thin air."

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They all sneered, and thought me, no doubt, a very foolish calculator. However, Mr. Johnston continued to lend me books, and treated me with due attention. As the brother of Gen. A. S. Johnston, I took note of all he said. I also took notice of the opinions I heard expressed by the various persons whom I met. I went to General Fremont's. He was absent on one of his expeditions. His wife was in command in St. Louis.

While assuming great confidence in the Union cause, I must confess my apprehension of danger grew daily more intense, and my determination to find some solution for the difficulties of the situation grew stronger.

President Lincoln was relying on the great Mississippi to defeat the armed power of the South, and all with whom I talked said it never could be opened, and that there was no possible way to turn that strongly fortified river, impregnable to any advance on it from Columbus to Memphis.

When I saw that battle-torn regiment, 7th Iowa, as it fled into Benton Barracks, that memorable autumn morning after the battle of Belmont, it sickened my heart, and a conviction fastened upon me that there *was* a way of escape; that either the Tennessee or Cumberland River might afford the needed depth of water for the passage of the gun-boats into the heart of the South. I meant to find out, if I had to remain in St. Louis a month longer. It struck me the river pilots ought to be able to satisfy me as to the depth and width of all the Western rivers. I resolved to seek them, and inquire, for I knew the high military men would never inquire of them, as I told General Grant long after. I heard that the wife of one was in the hotel where I stopped. Her husband was a pilot on one of the transports at the battle of Belmont. I went to her room, and made many inquiries, and gained some information. She was then anxious as to her husband's fate, but promised to send him to me as soon as he should return to the city.

As soon as I heard of his return from Belmont, I sent for him myself, when he came, and I learned what I wanted to know, and found that the water in the Cumberland River was deep enough for the gun-boats at some seasons, and the Tennessee River at *all* seasons, the thought flashed on me in an instant, that *here* was the true way to the solution of the military problem, that here we could do all that it had been designed to do on the Mississippi, with none of the difficulties which that river presented.

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Judge Evans, of Texas, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, had fortunately called at that moment. I was greatly excited at this thought, and, meeting him in the hall, I inquired of him if such a movement could not be made. He was a Western man, born near the Tennessee River, and had lived near the foot of the Muscle Shoals most of his life. He concurred, after a little reflection, that the right way would be as I proposed, to transfer the national armies from the Mississippi to the Tennessee River. I said, "It shall be done; I will have it done," with some emphasis, and I then asked him to come and join me in obtaining from the pilot, Mr. Scott, information as to his special knowledge of the matter. He told us that every one of the pilots believed it certain destruction to attempt to reduce the fortifications on the water of the Mississippi River. I wrote at once to the Hon. Edward Bates, Attorney-General, who had been the one first to suggest the gun-boats for the Mississippi expedition, and to Assistant Secretary of War Col. Scott, and then to President Lincoln. I next proceeded to Ohio, and then to Covington, Kentucky. On every hand the talk was only of storming the impregnable Mississippi. Stopping in Buffalo, on my way to Washington, I met there, among other friends, ex-President Fillmore. He seemed anxious to learn my opinion of the dark look of things, and what I thought would be the result. He expressed his faith in the discovery I revealed to him, and asked if President Lincoln had heard from me, and advised me to lose no time in submitting my views to the Cabinet at Washington. Soon after arriving in Washington City, I took the papers which I had prepared, and called with them at the War Department on the 30th day of November, 1861. There I saw Colonel T. A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War. He said he had received my letter from St. Louis, and had showed it to the President, who was anxious to see me, and hear what I had to say. I then opened the paper with maps and diagrams, and read slowly, explaining to Colonel Scott. He was a good deal excited, and said earnestly, "Will you give me this?" I said, "It is for the use of the Government I have prepared it. Will you take it to the President? If you have this fully executed you will not only save this Union but cover yourself with glory." Then I left him, without a thought of myself, thinking only of the plan, and feeling conscious that it would in Colonel Scott's hands be faithfully executed as I had advised, to the salvation of the Union. And it was.

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Early the same evening it was in the hands of President Lincoln, and fully understood as coming direct from me. Colonel Scott said to me afterward, and spoke of it again not long before his death, that he never saw a greater manifestation of pleasure than Mr. Lincoln expressed as soon as he saw my solution of the great problem of the war.

Mr. Lincoln had unbounded confidence in Colonel Scott's knowledge of the railroad system of the South, and its use in war. He at once understood the plan in all its bearings. President Lincoln had reserved to himself, as supreme commander of the army and navy, control of the Mississippi expedition, and had been waiting for the building of the gun-boats which were in progress when I was in St. Louis. His order was to let him know when they were completed. I knew all that was going on pretty well, but I thought no more of myself than if I had had no connection with the military operations, and in conversation generally made no allusion to the probability of a change of plans in the department of the West, knowing all the time, however, that it had been my great privilege to have placed in the hands of the Government the plan for the transfer of the national armies from the Mississippi River to a new base in North Mississippi and Alabama, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and being assured by those who received it that it was the first and only idea of such an action that had ever been presented, then or afterward.

Of this fact there never was, and never can be, the shadow of a doubt.

Mr. Lincoln's terms of approval were intensely strong. The army and gun-boats had gone up the Tennessee River, carrying astonishment and consternation to the South, and had demonstrated the wisdom of the plan of advancing upon that line.

When the news reached the Capitol at Washington, of victory in Tennessee, Judge Evans, of Texas, hastened to my lodgings, and exclaimed: "You have accomplished your work. The army is on the march upon the Tennessee, and the decisive point is gained." I cannot express my joy at that eventful moment. But in my heart I ascribed it all to the Providence of my Almighty Father, who had so ordered it all, and endowed me with ability to do this work for the safety and glory of my country.

I went to the War Department and saw Mr. Tucker, Assistant Secretary in place of Colonel Scott, who was then in the West. Mr.

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Tucker said to me: "I know from Colonel Scott, who told me before he left, Miss Carroll, that you were the one who had designed this plan, and that he himself was going West to assist in having it executed." I had a letter from Mr. Tucker, expressing his interest in my claim, just before my last terrible illness.

Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, First Comptroller of the Treasury, and a valued friend of mine, requested a copy of my plan soon after the great victory for the Union had been achieved and all hearts were being cheered by the blessing. He said he wished to leave the copy of the draft as a legacy to his children to remember me. Some years after Mr. Whittlesley's death, his son sent it to me from Mansfield, Ohio.

In the House of Representatives, February 24, 1862, when Mr. Roscoe Conkling introduced his resolution to find out, and award merit to those who planned these military movements, I was present, and heard the names of one and another military man spoken of as the probable author of the plans.

Several, both in the House and in the Senate, knew all the facts of the matter, but kept silent from prudential motives. The desirability of silence occurred to my own mind, and was also suggested by Mr. Lincoln and the War Department, so that no expression was then given to the true facts of the case. Some, however, who knew about it, thought it wrong to have no proclamation of the facts at that time, and could scarcely be restrained from saying so. The discussion being continued some time, one claiming the honor for his military preference, and one for another, a member from New York, a Mr. Olin, said, "Let the Secretary of War be requested to give us the information." Then Mr. Thaddeus Stevens made a motion to reconsider, and the original resolution was referred to committee on military affairs, February 25, 1862.

There it slept.

ANNA ELLA CARROLL.

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THE PROGRESS OF KANSAS.

On the 30th of May, 1854, President Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Slavery had broken down the barriers of the Missouri Compromise and invaded a territory dedicated to Freedom, and the "irrepressible conflict," long dreaded and inevitable, was thus inaugurated upon the prairies of Kansas. Seven tragic years followed—years filled with the noise of contention; with fightings by day and burnings by night; with startling revelations of human heroism, patience, self-sacrifice, desperation and depravity, the scene closing with a natural calamity in the form of a drouth, when for seven months not a drop of rain fell upon the parched and gaping earth; and Kansas, on the 29th of January, 1861, was admitted into the Union as a Sovereign State.

On the day of her admission the young State was wrapped in a mantle of new-fallen snow. But scarce had the snow melted in the breeze and sun of spring before the country was enveloped in the flames of civil war, and with it came, for Kansas, four years crowded with trials greater than had marked the preceding seven years. Kansas was not, like the other Northern States, a spectator or an occasional participant in the struggle. On her eastern border lay Missouri, a bloody battle ground from first to last; on the south, the Indian Territory, its population divided between contending forces. Kansas was repeatedly invaded, her infant settlements laid in ashes, and on one black day more of her people's lives were sacrificed, on her own soil, than had been lost in all the quarrels, assassinations, skirmishes and forays of the Territorial period of seven years. During the Civil War it may be said that the entire able-bodied male population of Kansas was in arms, engaged in offensive or defensive warfare. The report of the Provost Marshal General of the U. S. Army, made in 1867, shows that Kansas contributed more soldiers to the army, in proportion to

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population, than any other State of the Union; and that the per centage of Kansas soldiers killed or wounded was also greatest.

At the end of eleven years, then, during which Kansas had scarcely known the meaning of the word peace, the young State faced the future with almost empty hands, yet mindful of her motto—alike a history and a prophecy—"*Ad astra per aspera*," "To the stars through difficulties."

At the date of her admission Kansas had a population but little in excess of the number given by the census of 1860, viz., 107,206. During the Civil War, the development of the State practically ceased. The horrors of the "drouth of '60" had been spread over the West by disheartened fugitives, and to these were added the too true stories of the perils and losses of the war. Few immigrants sought to remove to the scene of actual or possible conflict. In the summer of 1864, however, many of the Kansas volunteers returned to their homes; the end of the war was evidently approaching; immigration began again; and the census of 1865 showed that the population had grown to 140,179—an increase of 32,973 during five years, or about 6,500 per year. This increase, however, was really acquired during the year preceding the census.

The Constitution of 1859, called in Kansas "the Wyandotte Constitution," under which the State was admitted, had defined its territorial limits as they have since remained, discarding what is now the State of Colorado, and leaving a parallelogram 400 miles long and 200 miles wide, and embracing 52,218,000 acres—a country which may be described as a rolling prairie one-third larger than England. And if, in 1865, the entire population of Kansas, men, women and children, had been evenly distributed over this immense area, each human being would have had nearly one square mile to himself or herself.

To reach this region, destined to be the scene of the most remarkable development in the history of the North American continent, there was, in 1865, but one line of railroad, touching the State at only two points on the extreme north-eastern border, Atchison and Elwood, and but one water-way, the Missouri River. No other Western State had begun its career of development under similar disadvantages.

To counterbalance every disadvantage there was the great fact, which has by degrees become known, not only throughout the

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United States and Canada, but all over Europe, that in the exact geographical center of the Republic lies a body of 52,218,000 acres of land, nearly every acre of which, as agriculture is practiced in old and densely populated countries, may be subjected to the plow. Time has developed the fact that, underlying these acres, there are, by the latest estimates, 2,500,000,000 tons of coal; that there are valuable deposits of lead and yet more valuable mines of zinc; and that all over the State there are quarries of building stone. But the great fact was the existence of a vast body of arable ground lying ready for the farmer; and the accompanying knowledge that, of these acres, the greater part could be had for the taking, or purchased at a very low figure; that the price of one acre in the older States would secure 160 acres in Kansas. In this point of view it may be said that Kansas started, in 1865, with advantages such as no other Western State had ever enjoyed, in the existence of the Homestead Law and the land-grant railroad system.

The Homestead Law, in its original form, perhaps the most beneficient act ever passed by the Congress of the United States, was, after the war, made especially liberal as regards the ex-soldiers of the Union, allowing them to deduct from the five years of settlement and cultivation required by the act, the terms of their military service. This provision not only greatly stimulated immigration, but affected its character, and Kansas began, on the passage of the act, to fill up with a brave, hardy and patriotic population, accustomed to the discipline and endurance of army life, and bound together by the strongest ties, those of attachment to a common cause in the past, and of military comradeship. The system of land-grants to railroads, once universally supported, in Congress and out of it, by the people and by their representatives, and now as universally opposed, gave Kansas railways which the State would probably have never had otherwise, and threw upon the market millions of acres of land, contiguous to the lines, sold at low prices and on long time. The grantees made haste to dispose of the lands, for excellent reasons: to realize from the sale, and to promote the settlement of the country and thereby provide themselves business for the future. The fact that the land was granted in alternate sections prevented, as a rule, the sale of great blocks to individuals, and the railroad as well as the government land was thus sold in "quarter sections" of 160 acres—the area that experience has shown sufficient for a single

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settler and his family. While the "land-grant system" led to abuses, and has served its time, it was an aid in the building up of Kansas in 1865 and for years thereafter, that no historian of the State can justly ignore.

In five years, from 1865 to 1870, the population of Kansas increased from 140,179 to 364,399, or at the rate of 159.95 per cent. —the largest percentage of increase the State has ever known. It was during these years that the "disbanded volunteer" was seeking a new home, and the era of railroad building was fairly inaugurated, the "Kansas Pacific" road having been completed to the west line of the State in 1869. In 1870, had the distribution of population, we have before used as an illustration, taken place, the Kansan, who in 1865 stood alone in the midst of a mile square, would have found himself one of a group of four persons.

The next period of five years, from 1870 to 1875, would probably have shown an equal ratio of increase, but for the financial crash of 1873, followed, in Kansas, in 1874, by a simultaneous visitation of drouth and grasshoppers. After these came an "aftermath" of liars, who scattered over the East and greatly exaggerated the calamity. But in spite of hard times, grasshoppers and "aid seekers," Kansas had acquired by 1875, a population of 528,349 inhabitants, and our illustrative group in the center of the "section" had grown to six persons.

From 1875 to 1880 Kansas made great progress. The population in those years swelled to 996,096, or at the rate of 88.52 per cent.; and the population per square mile increased to twelve persons.

In the years from 1880 to 1885 the population increased 272,466, making the total population 1,268,562, or fifteen persons to the square mile.

Thus, commencing in 1865 with 140,179 inhabitants, Kansas attained, in twenty years, to 1,268,562. But during the year 1885 occurred the most remarkable immigration ever known, and the population of the State is now fully 1,350,000.

This population in all its increase has shown a striking uniformity in character, the native born maintaining to the foreign born inhabitants an unvarying ratio of 8 to 1. A curious illustration of the fallacy of prophecy based on "scare" is shown in the proportion of white to colored persons. At the time of the famous "exodus" it was predicted that Kansas would be flooded with

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indigent colored people from the South. The census shows that the white population is 1,220,355, and the colored population 48,207, or 25 whites to 1 black. In 1865 the population was 9 whites to 1 colored. It should be said, also, that the 48,000 people of color in Kansas are in no sense a public burden. They have done their full share, with their strong arms, toward the upbuilding of the State, which has been the scene of the first successful occupation and settlement of public lands by persons of African descent.

If the test of population is not deemed a fair one, and it is asserted that Kansas has filled up with poor people crowded out of the East and attracted by cheap lands, on which they have not been able to accumulate wealth or even a competency, the answer is the production of official figures. In round numbers the true valuation of property in Kansas in 1860 was $31,000,000; in 1865, $72,000,000; in 1870, $188,000,000; in 1875, $242,000,000; in 1880, $321,000,000; and in 1885, $550,000,000. These figures show that the State has increased in wealth even more rapidly than it has in population.

The value of the farm crops of Kansas for the five years ending with 1870 was, in round numbers, $59,000,000; for the next succeeding five years their value was $135,000,000; for the next five years, $264,000,000; and for the five years ending with 1885 the farm crops of Kansas aggregated in value $503,000,000. The farmers of Kansas have produced, in twenty years, crops the value of which aggregates the enormous sum of $963,000,000.

The growth of a country in population and in wealth is not a gratifying fact if with it there is not a corresponding progress in intelligence. A million taken from or added to the population of China is a matter of indifference to the world at large. It is possible to imagine a country growing populous, and even rich, without contributing to the world's improvement; a country filled with great land-holders, controlling a hopeless and ignorant tenantry; or a country covered with great herds of cattle and sheep owned by a few rich men, and watched and tended by semi-barbarous herdsmen, scarcely more intelligent than their four-footed charges.

Kansas has made as great progress in the matter of popular education as in material wealth. In 1861, the first year of her existence as a State, Kansas expended for the support of common schools only $1,700; in 1885 the expenditures for the same purpose aggre-

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gated $2,259,479. In the five years from 1880 to 1885 there was expended on the common schools of Kansas $12,630,480, and during the twenty-five years of her life as a State, Kansas has given to the cause of common school education $30,219,202. And this money has been well spent. In 1880 there were in Kansas only 25,000 persons over ten years of age who could not read. The security against ignorance and its resultant ills is the presence of an army of 8,219 school-teachers, who "hold the fort" in 6,673 school-houses, this army being maintained at a cost of nearly two million dollars a year for salaries alone. The greater part of this expense is met by self-imposed taxation, but there is in reserve the permanent school fund of the State, which now aggregates $3,500,000, with a million acres of land, yet unsold, destined to increase it to fifteen or twenty million dollars. The interest of this fund is, by a constitutional provision, sacredly set apart for the support of common schools. And crowning the common school system are the three State institutions, virtually a part of it,—the State University, the State Normal School, and the State Agricultural College,—all under the control of the State Legislature, supported by the State, and never to become exclusive or separated from the cause of free, popular, practical education.

The influence of the newspapers of the State, while no figures can ever measure it, will be acknowledged. These have increased from 27 in 1860 to 581 in 1885.

During the same period the churches have grown in number from 97 to 3,115.

The great features of a country's progress are its advance in population, in wealth, and in intelligence. These include everything. And, to sum up, the census reports establish the fact that the growth of Kansas has been unparalleled in the history of American States. In 1860 the thirty-third State of the Union in population, Kansas is now the fifteenth. Having in 1865 only 243,712 cultivated acres, her fields have enlarged in twenty years to 14,252,815 acres. Paying taxes in 1865 on 3,500,000 acres, the assessor now places on his roll 27,710,981 acres. In 1865 Kansas estimated the value of her live stock at $7,324,000, the investment has grown to $117,881,000. In 1864 there was not a mile of railway within the borders of the State; there are now 4,750 miles, and hundreds of miles are to be added during the present year. In 1865 the State gathered her children in 640 school-houses; 6,673

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are now crowded with Kansas youth. In 1860 only ten Kansas towns had a population exceeding 500; in 1885 ninety-one towns had each over 1,000 population, and four cities—Topeka, Leavenworth, Atchison and Wichita—had each over 15,000 population.

The question may be asked, has this growth been due to transient or to permanent causes? There have been numerous instances of equally suprising growth, from temporary or speculative reasons, as in the oil regions of the East and the mining regions of the West, followed by utter collapse. Is this history to repeat itself in Kansas? Is what seems prosperity only a seeming; the result of the stimulating treatment of land speculators, individual or corporate?

It should be borne in mind, in considering these questions, that the reliance of Kansas is in her soil. The State does not depend on oil-wells which may cease to flow, or on placers that may be washed dry, or on quartz veins that may pinch out. Kansas is, as has been said, a great tract of 52,288,000 acres, containing a larger number of cultivable acres than any other State in the Union; in fact, Kansas is the name of the largest agricultural area on the face of the globe, inhabited by a homogeneous population and governed by the same laws. But passing mention has been made of the coal, of the builing stone found everywhere, and of the lead and zinc deposits, for the future of Kansas rests on the fertility of her fifty-two million acres. Thirty years of cultivation, in the eastern section of the State, has witnessed no diminution in the productiveness of the soil. Kansas does not own an exhausted or worn-out field. Of the 52,288,000 acres, only about ten million have ever been broken by the plow. If in twenty years $963,000,000 worth of agricultural products have been turned off, with, at most, less than one-fifth of the State under cultivation, what may be expected during the next twenty years, while the remaining four-fifths are being converted into fenced fields and pastures?

It can now be stated, with absolute certainty, that great areas in the Western third of Kansas are becoming more fertile; better fitted and adapted to cultivation. Kansas has enjoyed the advantages growing out of the modern science of meteorology, and the records of faithful observers have demonstrated the reality of climatic changes, as has, also, the experience of thousands of practical farmers. The face of the earth has changed with that of the sky, and the hard, trampled buffalo-pasture has been transformed,

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from the Missouri to the Colorado line, into mellow acres covered with high and waving grass—natural meadows, ready for the plow and the following reaper.

But the most assuring prophecy of the future of Kansas is the character of her population. From the date of her territorial organization to the present time Kansas has attracted the best blood and brain of the civilized world. Hither, thirty years ago, came thronging a host of bright and generous men, to oppose the aggression of slavery; and when the Civil War was over, a hundred thousand soldiers of the Union established homes on our broad prairies. No State in the Union can boast of a braver or a more intelligent, enterprising, sober and law-respecting population; and no country in the world can point to achievements or results rivaling those wrought by the citizens of Kansas. These people have wiped a desert from the map of the continent, and replaced it with a garden; they have pushed the plains to the foot-hills of the mountains; they have dotted the treeless prairies with forests; and they are harvesting, each year, crops exceeding in value the products of all the gold and silver mines of the United States. The limits that bound the progress and development of a State having such a citizenship and such resources cannot now be defined; but it is certain that, for at least a quarter of a century, the growth of Kansas will equal, if it does not excel, that of the past.

JOHN A. MARTIN.

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ENGLISH RULE IN INDIA.

THERE is a string of phrases about the English occupation of India which the genius of the English people has stereotyped into a cant. Security from foreign aggression, domestic peace, suppression of dangerous rites, protection for women and children, equality of all classes before the law, diffused education and extended commerce, railways and public works, and other benefits of the undefined entity called "civilization," introduced by a "superior" to an "inferior" race (whatever those words may mean); these are said to be the many blessings of English rule in that country. It is taken for granted in a general way that Englishmen saved India from anarchy and ruin, and gave her order and the beginnings of civilized life. A great many good people, on both sides of the Atlantic, who get their knowledge from the usual sources, honestly believe that she is very much better off with her present rule than she otherwise would be.

But the truth is this: India has given to England wealth and fame; England has brought upon India penury and shame. Instead of being a means of civilization, English rule in India is almost an excuse to keep up barbarism in the nineteenth century. It is an attempt, by a certain class of Englishmen, to repeat in the East the regretted days of the "Conqueror" in England, when every native was a "villain" and all rights belonged to those who "came over." Instead of raising, it is degrading the people. The goods coming from it are at present remote and negative, while its immediate effects have been simply disastrous. The fiction of "England's mission" and "India's progress" is kept up by the agents of three interested industries—the military, mercantile, and missionary—aided by the co-operative journalism, in behalf of privilege and power, in which the modern Muse so sadly prostitutes herself. Distance and difference of language increase the difficulty of Indian thought and feeling on the question being

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known to the Western public. If I mistake not, this is the first time that, through the courtesy of the editor of this REVIEW, a native of India gives his version of her story in a publication of standing. Fully alive to the responsibility of my task, I will try to be as calm in my narrative as the case will permit, though I must preface it by saying that, should England continue in her treatment of India the self-satisfied cynicism which is at present her wont, the history of the English in India, no matter how Englishmen tell it, can be written on the native side, as it has heretofore been, only in blood.

Never within the records of history have there been such widespread poverty and misery in India as her unfortunate people have had to bear since the planting of the English flag. Every walk of life has been gradually usurped by a grasping monopoly whose boast is that they are not of the people. The children of the soil are to-day, virtually, serfs, working away their lives for a scanty board. Free imports, which have enriched English capitalists, have killed the manufacturers of the country, maimed its industry, and made its trade pass into foreign hands, and the people have to look to Europe for the merest necessaries of life. As if this was not enough to keep down the wealth of the country, it is further exhausted by an increasing annual drain, now over £40,000,000, in the shape of exports, for which there are no corresponding imports. This amount, equal to a sum higher than half the gross State revenues, represents interests on foreign debt and on foreign capital invested in India, pensions and salaries to Englishmen in Europe, the ever-increasing deficit of the government made good, and part of the savings of foreigners remitted in this form, all of which items are constantly forcing away larger and larger amounts of the very food from a starving people. Thus the formation of capital and a moneyed class by native industry is simply impossible, and there is being rapidly attained that dead level of poverty of a whole people which the Socialists of the West believe to be the immediate prelude to the dawn of the new day. Any signs of life in the country can be seen now in the seaports and a few centers of government alone, but the interior everywhere presents only ruins and destitution. The ruined industries have thrown increasing numbers upon an impoverished soil, only to struggle until nature fails, when they lay themselves down to die. Forty millions of the peasantry, or fully one-fifth of the subjects

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of the "Empress of India," are, on the telling of the official statistician, in a state of chronic starvation. To these even one meal of coarse grain in a day is a precarious luxury. The extravagance of the Government, its indifference to the needs and sufferings of the people and its oppressive taxes, have induced famine after famine, at the rate of one in every five or six years. Ten millions, by the official returns, have died of acute famine in the last twenty-five years, but in reality twice the figure would not very much overstate the fact. The national debt has steadily increased, is now near £250,000,000, while fully eighty per cent. of the people are more or less in the hands of the money-lender. Every means of raising money has been tried: free-trade England preaching to all the world untaxed bread as the first necessity of civilization, taxes India's native salt from 1,500 to 2,000 per cent. on its cost value; Christian England, sending missionaries to every corner of the globe, is compelled to eke out her Indian revenues by utilizing the opium habit of China; yet the average annual deficit of the Indian Government has for the last seventy years amounted to £1,000,000. But there is now a plan on hand to add another two millions sterling to the military expenditure of the country, and "otherwise increase the efficiency of the services," in view of prospective war with Russia. It is superfluous to say that all the high-paid offices are almost exclusively filled by Englishmen, to whom India is at best but a luxurious exile. Free imports, forced exports, and official extravagance are to India the three brass balls one sees over certain establishments in Western cities—the symbols of hunger, misery, and despair. India is in pawn, and her people on the verge of bankruptcy.*

* The increase in the exports and imports of India is exhibited as a mark of prosperity by some of those economic sciolists who imagine that figures can feed and tables can clothe. But from her peculiar position India loses by both her exports and imports. This will be seen roughly as follows: In 1883 the exports were worth £83,000,000; the imports, £63,000,000 (including bullion in each case). In other words, £20,000,000 worth of exports had no corresponding imports, but were lost in foreign countries, together with the *entire profit* on the whole of the exports. This profit is estimated to be at least £20,000,000, according to the rates at which Indian goods are delivered in the European markets; so that at least £40,000,000 of the exports and profits of India represent nothing but the *yearly* drain to foreigners (on the items stated in the text) in part payment for the privilege of English rule. Nadir Shah, the foreign invader, who carried off the largest amount of spoils from India,

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Nine-tenths of the people of India are to-day made up of her peasantry, perhaps the most industrious, the most teachable, the most thrifty, the most heroic peasantry on earth. But they say there is a just God, and the average Indian *ryot* is a mere pauper. He can just pay his cesses in a good year, and would fail altogether in a bad year but for the money-lender; and there is a bad season in some district or other every year. He lives on coarse rice or millet in the best of times. In bad times he is not sure in the morning if his family will have one meal during the day. He has then to borrow for seed at exorbitant interest, often work without cattle, and to use branches of trees when the plow is in pawn. Rent days send him again and again to the money-lender, until both his present property and future prospects are mortgaged. He is always in need, always in debt, and always liable to be oppressed by whoever has power over him, be it the tax-gatherer or the money-lender. His haggard features, his shriveled form, his bent stature mark him a luckless child of fate. When there is little chance of a harvest the money-lender closes his advances, and the farmer is thrown upon the mercy of barren nature. He ekes out an unmentionable living on weeds and unmarketable grains. (His meals now are often as fatal as starvation.) There are weeds that can be eaten by people in distress, but salt is indispensable to make them bearable. Salt, however, is a government monopoly and a costly luxury to the poor.

Thus fare nearly eighty per cent. of the people of British India.

This salt monopoly originated with Clive for the payment of

took only £32,000,000, once for all, a large part of it consisting of jewelry and plates. But the imports show another vital loss to India, namely, that so much money goes out to the foreigner which was formerly distributed among native artisans. Whatever the abstract merits of free trade in the minds of economic pedants, in the case of India, where the open lands are all crowded and well-nigh exhausted, and the Government lends no hand to settle a destitute and increasing peasantry on unreclaimed tracts, while there is no emigration, its effects can be but disastrous. The facts show it to be so, and the figures fail to conceal or alter the facts. Increased imports, instead of being a measure of increased consuming power, represent only the starvation of millions thrown upon lands hitherto considered worthless. Indeed, prices of necessaries have in many cases doubled, while wages have remained stationary. The so-called cheap imports are paid for by forced exports, which in the end increase the prices of raw materials and make living dear. "Free" trade means to India simply *forced* extortion.

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his army, mutinous for higher pay. Anti-Corn-Law England sells to the Indian peasant for from $15 to $20 the salt whose cost value is $1. Next to water, salt is a necessity of Indian diet. The poor need it more than the well-to-do. There was great smuggling at one time, and extra precautions are now used. Many used to make "earth salt" by washing the earth with salt found lying on the surface, and to boil their food in the liquid. For this they were punished. They went out of bed at night to lick it in the dark, and orders were issued that the police should collect and destroy all salt found above ground rather than that the law should be violated or the sacred rights of monopoly infringed! Privation in salt has produced a disease akin to leprosy in thousands of men and cattle. Agriculture has suffered, as well as arts like bleaching, glazing, glass-making, extraction of ores, the salting of provisions, and curing of fish, on account of this salt duty. Such is an instance of the "clock-work" system of the Government of India over which the whole Anglo-Saxon world now and then clap their sides in great self-congratulation. Satan in chains, brooding vengeance in hell, could not have concocted a scheme more effective to spread disaster and confusion among God's innocents.

"How does it compare with native rule?" is a very common and pertinent question. Very unfavorably, indeed. Even in the existing native States, which have suffered from commercial competition, because they dare not levy imposts, the peasantry are not in debt, nor do they suffer from frequent famines. The reason is that in India the landlord has always been the best possible one, namely, the State; but the English Government has stepped in as a private corporation and absentee rack-renter, doing no duties toward its tenants, and extorting more than its rights. Its sole aim is to get up a revenue with the least possible thought spent upon it. Fallow and cultivated lands are charged the same in English territories, the result being exhaustion of the soil from want of rest, while the native rule is to assess fallow land only one-eighth of the cultivated. The English Government, unlike the native, further checks improvement by taxing wells sunk at the personal cost of the cultivator. Its assessment is based on the tenant's produce in a good year, of which it appropriates, on an average, forty per cent., puts its value in cash, fixes regulation times for collecting, and leaves the machine to do the rest. The result is that, often compelled to find cash before his harvest is in, the

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same amount in bad seasons as in good, the luckiest farmer must resort to the money-lender nine times out of ten. Native rulers take payment in kind, of from a fourth to a third of the produce of *the year*, according as it is good or bad; they make postponements, and even partial or total remissions in bad times, while the arrears of rent are allowed to stand without interest, thus saving the peasantry from the two great curses of usury and ruinous civil suits. Pasture land is free in native India, but English India has a Forest Department and Forest Laws, which have increased the value of grass and wood the same way as that of salt, so that the cattle are deteriorating, and manure and fuel are scarce. Of local cesses there are few in the native territories, but a good many in the English. Lastly, the worst native tyrant could be beseeched, cajoled, frightened; but there is no appeal to the tyranny of a corporate machine.*

The pretense that native anarchy and misrule made the "conquest" of India by the English not merely a blessing, but a necessity, is false. It was the English themselves, who, by their artifices, prolonged and aggravated the native anarchy which they offer as an excuse for their own misrule. More than once foreign conquerors or native chiefs have suppressed anarchy in India, and established their power in the confidence and affection of the people, in the course of a very short time,—but the English rule is not established yet, because Englishmen never conquered India either by arms or by sentiment. Their achievements can be written in three words, used consecutively by one of their own poets—treason, strategem, and spoils. All the talking classes of English-

* Englishmen have dilated a little too much on one period of anarchy in the history of India, in bringing about which they had as much to do as anyone else. But, at the worst, the capricious cruelty of any native tyrant sinks into insignificance beside the organized and gigantic oppression of the English. It is truer now than even in the days of Clive and Hastings that the little finger of the Anglo-Saxon is thicker than the loins of a Surajah-ud-dowlah or a King Theebaw. Bengal was taken possession of by the English in 1757, and in 1760 *one-third* of its people were carried off by a famine resulting from the monopoly established on rice. The last great famine in India (1877), in which the mortality was over 5,000,000, followed in the track of the hunt after the "scientific frontier." This "land of plenty," whose prosperity tempted the avarice of successive conquerors from Semiramis to Tamerlane, is now, after a little more than a century of English rule, a mere blotch on the face of the earth, where, from one end to the other, a wretched nation writes in tears the story of England's "prestige" in the book of shame.

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men, however, have kept up a continual slander on the character of the Indian people, whose greatest fault was in being overreached by their Christian brethren. Calumny is the homage that wrong bears to right. With the ruling classes of England morality is but the art of securing success and appearing "respectable:" thus, with great indignation they punished Editor Stead for shocking their flaunted virtue by disclosing their concealed vice.

The power that first checked the tide of invasion from the North-west was that of the Sikhs, of the Punjab, who brought the restless Afghans more completely to terms than England has ever succeeded in doing. Since the fall of that power the warlike tribes of Central Asia have been too much engaged in self-defense against Russian advance to think of any aggression on their own account, while the Afghans have been distracted by domestic quarrels. After Nadir Shah, Russia is the first power that has meditated an invasion of India, and if England succeeds in warding it off, it will be because she will have the vigorous backing of the whole Indian people, who have begun to have a co-operative will of their own, and understand very well that a Russian usurpation at this time would rob them of the only treasure they have left—hope.

If the English connection has been the means of removing a few social evils which grew, here and there, during a period of suspended vitality and temporary disorganization of the Indian nation, it has demoralized them wholesale, paralyzed their resources, reduced them to helplessness, tied them round with the red tape of a galling officialism, and flung them into the dungeon of pauperism, to be constantly jeered and insulted by their unsympathetic jailers. The process of healing a sore or extracting a tumor by killing the patient is bad surgery. To try to correct social evils by imposing political helplessness is exploded philosophy. The United States would not act wisely to place herself under the English crown in order to overcome the Mormon difficulty. Japan is learning "civilization" without paying a greedy foreign pedagogue. *Suttee* burning and self-immolation of devotees were never extensive practices in India, and attained their greatest limits during the early days of English rule, when the old authorities of the people had lost power, and the new rulers were too busy in removing the good things out of the country to give thought to its internal condition. *Thuggee* was born under the English *régime*. Mahratta *dacoity*—

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the *Burgee*—arose in a spirit of rivalry to English spoliation, and was beneficial in so far as it retarded the outflow of a few flecks of gold. But this cant about England's "mission" in India is an after-thought only. Clive and Hastings would have laughed at it.

The goods from English rule to India may be summed up in one word—Education; not the education through books and schools alone; but the education of circumstances, and, above all, the lesson of adversity, that best teacher of nations as of individuals. The contact with the living energy of the modern West has given the people the consciousness of a new life. Its bold science, its protean art and its buoyant aspirations of freedom and democracy have, for the first time in many centuries, aroused in them a keen desire to live, while they have seen the glimpse of a new world, not of vanities and illusions. At the same time, the shock produced by the concentrated miseries of a system of centralized selfishness have rudely awakened them to the hard reality of existence, quickened their sympathies and brought their imagination once more into play. It has made a bond of common suffering among all sections and classes of the people, which, aided by the new means of intercourse, the railway and the press, is fast breaking down the barriers of province and caste, and there are already signs that they are beginning slowly, but in right earnest, to cultivate the last art of human life—the art of organization.

Book education, railways, civilization, a new life, and even a religious awakening, are not goods in themselves. To India, particularly, they have hitherto given nothing but a hope. The direct effects of each are evil. Indian railways to-day represent profits on foreign capital—often first made in India—native exhaustion, and the rule of militaryism. Many of them were built in order to facilitate the movement of troops. They have exported thousands of tons of grain from centers of starvation to centers of a trumped-up war. The loss to the State on guaranteed railways in 1884 was £589,730; the total loss in the twenty-five years ending therein was £22,416,370. Education has made those who are receiving it keenly alive to the miseries and indignities of their condition; open to insults from the ruling race by making them talk of "rights;" unhappy at having no other vent but sedition for their newly-awakened powers; while it haunts them with the sensation of one who discovers he has made a fool of himself. Of a new civilization we have got only the dregs; of a new religion, only an insufferable

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cant, and from the imported new life we have received only kicks.

Indeed, the moral discontent of the thinking, which has kept pace with the physical suffering of the masses, is the other painful feature in the life of modern India. It has affected not only those who are receiving English education, but all those who come within their influence. The generation known as "Young India," the product of English schools, is a particularly unfortunate race. The allaying of their moral hunger is as much a problem for the Indian Empire as feeding its peasantry. They represent a social anarchy, and conceal, under their incoherent utterances, a deep discontent of mind that will shape the future of India more powerfully than all the mock policies and parchment measures of the dull ruffians who, under the name of "statesmen," misrule the affairs of that country. Violently torn from the past, they awake to feel more keenly than ever that the only thing real in life is pain. Their "paternal" government is to them a veritable stepfather, a Murdstone to David Copperfield. While their widowed mother country is undergoing "civilization" they have been thrown adrift upon an unkind world, labeled, even as was young Copperfield, "This is a worthless generation of vipers." Let no one wonder if, one of these days, they inflict a terrible bite upon the paternal hand. They have nothing to lose in this world; no, not even a good name. They attempt only to meet with repression; they aspire only to be snubbed. By a cruel fate they find themselves the veriest stepchildren of Mother Earth, with a present that is lost, a future mortgaged; with no place in this world, while the Gospel of an Asiatic seer, as interpreted by English tyrants, tells them that the gates of heaven are also closed against them.

England claims to have suppressed infanticide in India, but she is trying to smother the awakening life of her people in its bud. She has fixed the limits beyond which the country shall not grow; she has drawn the line beyond which the native shall not pass. The people have, of course, been deprived of arms. All their old methods of self-government have been strangled by red tape, and they are studiously excluded from the new. It would be a miracle if they should ever thus evolve into a self-ruling nation. Free-trade England believes in open foreign markets for English enterprise, but she has a high tariff against Indians entering the

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public services of their own country. It is answered, whenever they demand their rights as English subjects, that India is not England, and that the Indian people are yet "in the infancy of civilization." But India is England for English free trade, for English capitalism, for English red tape, for English law courts. In the United States the chattel slave of yesterday, imported from a barbarous country, is to-day the possessor of equal rights with the highest of men, which he uses with as much good to the State as any other class of citizens—a standing testimony against the hypocritical philosophy of waiting indefinitely to give the masses their powers "until they are fitted," as if there was any other way of learning the use of privileges than by familiarity with them. But England will not elevate the Indian without making him pass through the "infancy of civilization." And, like policy, like result, for, as a matter of fact, native talent, whether in statesmanship or the arts, is found, now, only in the native States. A blight seems to have fallen upon the mind as well as the body of the unhappy people who have come within the shadow of the Anglo-Saxon. Yet England must have a mission. This story of "England's mission in India" would form the bulkiest chapter in Carlyle's "Statistics of Imposture." It is the very culmination of the hypocrisy of modern times.

And who are the gods manufactured to rule over us? Lads plucked from school, spoiled by the "cram" of a competitive pass, and demoralized forever by a false success in early life. It is no exaggeration to say that the English school-boy is a young savage. Compulsory Greek keeps him from study and hazing becomes his amusement. At an age when liberal studies should begin to expand his mind and social restraints should curb his egotism and form the heart, he is at once placed as a ruler over millions of men. Puffed up by fulsome eulogies of the prestige of his traditions and the greatness of his destiny, he begins to stalk with the air of a Cæsar or a Napoleon, and can think only in the strain of *Veni, vidi, vici.* Comparing himself with the meanest and worst types of natives, with whom alone he comes in intimate contact, he fancies himself a veritable god. Restrained in education, with irresponsible license, he remains narrow in culture and his expression assumes a vapid dogmatism. Fully evolved, he is a curious compound of an overgrown school-boy, an irresponsible savage, and a cynical philosopher.

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It is a mistake to suppose that the *personale* of the Indian Government has at all improved since it was transferred to the Crown. There was a certain straightforwardness about the knavery of the "honorable gentlemen" of John Company which put people on their guard, and was never so dangerous as the cultivated conceit and machine-made hypocrisy of a close corporation of half-educated competition-wallahs. The best of governors-general is powerless against their combination, as was seen recently in the case of the Marquis of Ripon. *L'état c'est moi* is more literally an article of faith with them than ever Louis XIV. dreamed of making it.

But there are other Englishmen in India beside those in the services. The majority of them, however, official or non-official, come from that lower middle class, peculiar to England, which has furnished Dickens with all his mean characters, from Pecksniff to Uriah Heep. Constantly ground between the millstones of the upper and the working classes, they have neither the independence of the one nor the dignity of the other. Accustomed to look up to their "betters," they are the worst of bullies to inferiors. They avenge by crushing others abroad the risk they have escaped of being crushed at home.

I am now brought face to face with the saddest part of my wretched tale. In the most exclusive country of Asia no foreigner is treated to such wanton cruelties and consistent insults as the native in India by his alien rulers. This is the most striking iniquity of the English domination, and a very mirror of its character. It needs no power of prophecy to say that this grievance will be at least the proximate cause of the next serious trouble in India. It is something whose nature no sophistry can disguise, no hypocrisy can smooth. Even the inexhaustible supply of English cant must at this point flow in vain.

It is said that the Indian of to-day lives on scanty meals and plenty of heels. Whether it is in the red-tapeism of the public services, which are worked so as to keep down the national spirit; or whether it is in the ordinary intercourses of the business world, the street, the park, or the railway car, all classes of Englishmen make it a rule to keep the natives in systematic degradation. A native may be turned out of a car if an Englishman wants it; he may be insulted on the street upon the flimsiest excuse; it is risky for him to walk in the public parks kept up at his own cost. He dares not resent, for the slightest show of resistance is met with

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physical violence, which may result in death, while the offender escapes with only a paltry fine. The highest punishment usually awarded to an Englishman for wantonly killing a native is six months' light imprisonment, with chances of remission on a memorial to the government from his brethren. Native judges have no jurisdiction over English criminals, except in the three cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, where they are but a small minority. So much for equality before the law. The Anglo-Indian ladies have not a little to do in keeping up this constant trouble. No wonder that the natives are so much prejudiced against them, seeing the hardening effects these Lady Macbeths have upon their husbands' hearts.

It is said by Anglo-Indians that the natives are used to insults, and are not so very sensitive, either. As a proof they point to the fact that Indians are often insulted by their own countrymen—the police constables and the servants of Englishmen. Simply recalling the fact that the Sepoy Mutiny was caused by supposed indignities which any English soldier would have swallowed down with a bottle of beer, I will give two extracts from a leading Anglo-Indian paper, which will show the truth about the case better than any words of mine. The "Times of India" (Bombay) wrote not long ago:

"Native gentlemen have *often* to endure rudeness when they call on Englishmen; but they suffer it not from the white man, but from the servants —their own brethren. There are few things so difficult as to make a native servant pay proper respect to a native gentleman who calls."

The same paper, in a subsequent issue, says:

"We have no hesitation in saying that Englishmen in India, as a rule, show a far more intelligent interest in the well-being of their horses than the ordinary stay-at-home Britons; the reason being that in England owners are usually obliged to trust to their grooms to manage their animals, while out here the *syce* (groom) never dares to usurp the functions of proprietorship."

Yes, things are so arranged in Anglo-India that the servant of an Englishman, who dares not touch his master's horse or dog, may insult a native caller, no matter how high his social position, while the master chuckles behind him. What a confession from the rulers of an empire—the protectors of a country from foreign aggression—that they cannot protect their visitors from the insults of their menials! Could hypocrisy go further? From

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the days of the factor of the East India Company to those of the modern constable, court-harpy, and money-lender, the policy of Englishmen in India has encouraged the most degraded native characters, and pampered the parasites and vultures who live upon the infamy of degenerate times.

But I must close. It is a tale of ruffianism, of sorrow, and of shame. Civilization has brought back to us, in the nineteenth century, the darkest days of human suffering. Wherever you go through the vast dominions of the "Empress of India" you see a population starved, luckless, cowed, crest-fallen, brooding thoughts of darkness or despair; while stalks hither and thither the Anglo-Saxon, riding over their breasts, spitting in their faces, spreading desolation and leaving a nightmare wherever he has passed. The peasant slowly stoops to pick the food that allays no hunger, wondering wearily if death is as bad as life, while the wounded ego of the awakened mind mournfully asks if indeed it is for a trumpery British "prestige" that it must put up with a condition in which life is one long suffering, and to be born a shame.

There is a half truth in England's boast that she is the mother of freedom. English liberty is a reaction against the English egotism which has made Englishmen the conquerors of nature and the oppressors of men. Freedom was born wherever England has been because the tyranny of English rulers is always the most unbearable. It is against this tyranny that Milton wrote and Hampden bled. It is for this tyranny that the Magna Charta was drawn and handed down from bleeding sire to son. It is against this tyranny that an English colony signed the Declaration of Independence in the blood of their own brothers of the cradle. It is because of this tyranny that Catholic Ireland has raised the broadest plank in the politics of the age, and in Africa was born an heir to Mohammed the First. And it is this tyranny that will, in India, make the mortified spirit of the old Hindu cry out from beneath the ashes of centuries, "Vandals, forbear! tread not upon us! we are the most inoffensive of men." For it is a tyranny that would make stones speak and the dead start up to life again.

Our quarrel is not with the English people, but with the Anglo-Indian conspiracy against the life of India. The body of the English people, her producing and useful classes, are as much the victims as ourselves of the organized selfishness and hypocrisy of the blustering dullards who disgrace the English name in every

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corner of the globe and live on the robbery of half the world. Nor do we altogether despair of receiving justice from England, which, of all countries, has ever had a "remnant" of great and good men. The case of the Indian to-day is not a question of nationality or patriotism, but of humanity. Patriotism is but a lame virtue, one-eyed and deaf, and should not be separated from universal philanthropy save when external aggression makes a distinction between "you" and "me" a disagreeable necessity. We see enough of English patriotism in the East, and the iniquities committed in its name, to be convinced, with Dr. Johnson, that patriotism is often but the last refuge of scoundrels. I consider it a privilege that, through good and evil, our lot has been cast, our interests united, with those of the working-men of England and the Western proletariat, one with us in suffering, and the pioneers of social reorganization upon the basis of facts. Since the days of Buddha, India has held her life in suspense, waiting for that new world, without illusions, in which ideals and facts shall harmonize, justice shall be seen, and love realized; and she has not waited in vain. For there has already begun the last heavenward movement of mankind, in which all distinctions will die, all sentiments combine, and the heathen of the past will reach his *nirvana*, the wandering Jew will find a rest. Thoughtful men all over the world are beginning to see the *fact* of the solidarity, the oneness, of the human race, which will yet save society when the metaphysical, unrealizable *idea* of brotherhood shall have proved powerless against the ravages of individualism. None but the willfully perverse can much longer deny that, flowing from that common humanity which has worked and suffered everywhere and in all times to continue life and civilization, the right to live, the right to work, and the holy right to serve their fellow-beings are the common heritage and possession of all. The writer, particularly, can hold up his heart, having lived in this land where all nations meet, this nursery of hopes, where the cheery breeze wafts from the Atlantic to the Pacific and back again strains sweeter than ever were sung by the Æolian harp, "Broad is this earth, gracious is nature, there is room enough for all the children of men."

I am convinced, however, that the English Parliament, as it is now constituted, will not do anything for India. It has not even tried to since the days of Burke. We have been disappointed by it at every turn. It is a Parliament of idlers and snobs,

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with whom party gain and a mock prestige are more objects than statesmanship and the good of the people. Whig and Tory are but the reverse and obverse of the same counterfeit coin. There is little choice between Whig cant and Tory dullness. The people of India have been treated by both parties like a flock of sheep—now fleeced by Tory Jingoism, now emasculated by Whig free trade, while fortunate Anglo-Indians keep on saying grace as they dine on the juicy mutton.

Come from a civilization of the past, ready to accept the civilization of the future, we have one appeal to make to the free citizens of this New World, whose life began in a protest against the oppression of which we to-day are the victims. The people of India are bearing their ills patiently in the single hope that injustice and cruelty cannot long rule the fortunes of a nation. Their rulers heed not their sorrows and their wails of woe die in the winds and waves ere they could reach these distant shores. But when the time comes for them to bring their case before the verdict of nations, let us hope that the American people, at least, will not let considerations of race, language or commerce weigh against the eternal rights of man which they wrote in the Declaration of Independence.

AMRITA LAL ROY.

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AN ARCTIC JOURNAL.

In the March number of the North American Review, I gave a brief outline of the life of my husband, the late Dr. Octave Pavy, and narrated certain acts of injustice which have come to light since the return of the expedition party in which he lost his life.

Commander Greely's book on the expedition appeared after my article and the extracts subjoined from the Surgeon's Arctic Journal, had been put in type, and no additions to it or omissions have been made in consequence of that publication. Within the limits allowed me in these pages, I can only say that the falsity of many assertions in Commander Greely's book and the fact that they can be proven to be untrustworthy, both by the oral testimony of survivors and documentary evidence (including personal letters from the commander himself in direct contradiction of his recent statements), will enable me to prepare such a refutation as shall demonstrate that, in slandering the surgeon, he made what lawyers designate as an aggressive defence—to forestall the evidence in my possession of his utter incapacity as an officer.

Commander Greely, in his book, dares to say, *after* reproaching Dr. Pavy, that he does not reproach him because he is dead! I respond, thus publicly, that Dr. Pavy himself, at Fort Conger, demanded, *in writing,* an official investigation on his return, and I now call on Commander Greely to unite with me in demanding a Congressional investigation. I do not fear the result of such an inquiry; Dr. Pavy did not fear it; does Commander Greely fear it?

I now proceed to give such brief extracts from Dr. Pavy's Arctic Journal as the space allotted to me permits. The originals were described as "undecipherable" by the Signal-Office authorities.

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EXTRACTS FROM ARCTIC JOURNAL.

February, 1883.—So far, the history of this expedition would be best written by Mark Twain; but later on, it shall come perhaps better from the pen of Victor Hugo.

1882.—As medical adviser, as one on whom may fall, at some future day, all the burden of sick and disabled men, and that responsibility, perhaps, in the face of starvation and destitution, it is my right, my duty, my imperious duty, to speak the truth, the *whole* truth. (In any such event I would, perhaps, be censurable only in my own mind.)

September, 1882.—Speaking of the retreat, the commander of this expedition says that "the steam-launch could go where the 'Proteus' could not." This is absurd. It is silly. A sailor could refute it. For example, if it (the launch) was taken in a nip, loaded as it would be on the retreat, it could not raise itself, being too low in the water. It is very difficult to say whether a ship like the "Proteus," built expressly to ride the nips, would ride them, between two fields of ice, elevated as much above the water as the paleocrystic floes are. (See Nares' opinion.) It is a pernicious idea which Greely entertains, that the launch can go where a ship cannot, in following the coasts. Show by Nares the danger of there being fields of ice, and the danger of being more easily entangled in a floe, and of being drifted; furthermore, with the greatest chances of being caught in the young ice. Let us not tempt fortune. We cannot say at what time of the approaching year the pack will commence to move south. Strong tempests from the north may break it, and then it will fill the channel. This year, it is a remarkable fact, that we have not had a single storm from the north. If a ship cannot reach us here, but awaits us at Littleton Island, we have two chances in ten; but, if there is no ship in Smith Sound, I doubt if, out of twenty chances, we would have one of saving ourselves. I said to Greely, in regard to his plan: "I approve the plan of starting in the first half of August, but to specify a day or hour, is unwise, foolish. All depends on the ice, which, like time and tide, waits for no man." Take the example of the "Proteus" (1881). We entered here (Discovery Harbor) the 10th of August. Before that, and even afterward, the harbor was not entirely open. The ice has always encumbered the channel. In regard to "making the Etah Eskimos support us," as Greely proposed, and again in regard to the Eskimos of Smith Sound, will we find them north of Whale Sound? In Kane's Expedition they were at Etah; in Hayes' case they were south of Whale Sound; with Hall, at Foulke Fiord; with the "Pandora" at Whale Sound. Besides this, shall we be able to turn Cape Alexander? How pass Whale Sound? We ought to take all these calculations into consideration; leave nothing to chance, especially as reflection and foresight cost nothing.

The tragic end of the expedition proved that, while it cost nothing to offer the wisdom of foresight, it cost nineteen lives to reject it.

Without sufficient clothing, without enough shoes, with inadequate food, and twenty-five men exhausted by a voyage of hundreds of miles, how are they

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going to pass the winter? The strongest point Greely uses in combating the fact of our poor supply is, that a ship has been sent this year, and has not been able to reach here on account of the ice of Smith Sound, but that we will find it there. Common sense ought to show him that if a ship cannot reach us, we have no chance of reaching Littleton Island; and, furthermore, if there is no ship there at that time of the year, how can we hope, with either open water or ice, to reach Upernavik. We have a whale-boat, it is true, but have no one who knows how to manage it. This lack of nautical experience, and the danger impending because of its absence, bears greatly upon our security. There is little possibility of our wintering at Cary Island, or even anywhere, without clothes, fuel, shelter, or provisions.

SURGEON TO COMMANDER.

I deem it of the highest importance, even of absolute necessity, to be informed of your project concerning our future stay in the Arctic, as well as your plans and means of escape.

My stock of medicines, from the first very incomplete, and even now absolutely deficient in essential drugs, is very much reduced, especially in what I may be called upon in the future to use the most often. Your plans will be in this emergency entirely my guide as to the divers expenditures at present, and the reserve for the future. Since the ship is not coming, and the fall work cannot be changed, it is necessary to decide as to our future spring work. Hence, as surgeon of the expedition, I wish to be officially informed of your plans, so far as there is no private matter in them, so as to shape my course in the use of my scanty and ill-chosen medical stores.

Dr. Pavy had no voice in the selection of the medical stores or the consulting library, since he was in Greenland when the equipments were prepared in Washington.

Let us prepare for all emergencies, against all odds, and then we will be able to say, in case of disaster: "Come what may, we have performed our whole duty."

COMMANDER TO SURGEON—EXTRACT FROM LETTER.

While holding in high estimation *your medical skill*, I cannot bring myself to concur in your opinion that our prospects are gloomy, as the general tone of your letter implies. Our diet, our warm, dry quarters, our exemption from scurvy, the past year, our success in the field, all appear to me as guarantees that the winter will pass safely.

SURGEON'S NOTES.

This evening Greely called Jans and Frederick Esquimaux into the room, and gave them a glass of rum. Greely is beginning to be careful of them, since it only just dawns upon him that he may have need of the aid of the Esquimaux of Smith Sound. For several days Jans has been nearly barefooted for want of shoes. I was obliged to give him a pair of my own boots.

Greely, in the men's quarters, laid out his plans for next year, viz.: "To go to Booth Bay if the ship is not at Port Foulke; send a party to Cary Island

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to get provisions upon the coasts;" and he says: "We will make the Esquimaux keep us all winter." The poor devils, who have perhaps not enough for themselves! I remember Greely laughing when I was speaking of Sir Geo. Nares, who wished to stop and leave them provisions.

If we are obliged to return and pass the winter, we will have just two or three months' rations of bread, and then, what a responsibility!

This statement will let some light into the inquiry, how much food was left at Lady Franklin Bay?

MEMORANDUM.

Let us not tempt fortune; take care that her wheel does not wear out, the spokes fall, and leave us flat on the ground. All these doubts, precautions, and forethoughts are my right by virtue of my duty, my respect for the flag, and the interest, health, and lives of the men placed in my medical charge by the United States Government. And these sentiments are not in the least prompted by any idea of personal fear or pusillanimity. Let us think, prepare, and be prudent before we enter these difficulties, without waiting until we are enclosed as in a box; but, when once in the action, let us dash.

This paragraph was prophetic, and too applicable, later on. Of the retreat, at a point near Cape Hawks, Lieutenant Lockwood says: "We were in peril and found we were really working for our lives." Here the party were "enclosed as in a box" and were threatened with all the dangers of exposure on a moving ice-pack. Dr. Pavy had earnestly requested to carry provisions, in advance, to Cape Hawks from Fort Conger. The request was declined. Lieutenant Greely wrote of the situation and the provisions at that point, when they came to it, as follows: "I cannot but feel that we are now in a critical situation, not knowing what can be depended upon. Owing to the grave uncertainty of the future the entire amount (the cache at Cape Hawks) was examined, and what was serviceable taken, a considerable quantity of which was so moldy that it was barely eatable." Lieutenant Lockwood makes the statement that Dr. Pavy wanted to go with supplies from Fort Conger to Cape Hawks, and, because it was one hundred and fifty miles southward, mentions it somewhat in derision. The preceding quotations bear upon the doctor's offer, the commander's decline of it and the existence of the first real peril which Dr. Pavy prophetically and emphatically indicated. In the same letter the surgeon further says:

When we are speaking of the consideration of the inevitable and of peril of men in our charge, I would consider myself guilty not to call your attention to these prudential matters. It has been, I am sure, customary in Arctic expeditions to confer with the surgeon.

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DETACHED MEMORANDA.

September, 1882.—It would seem proper to burn ships under the sun of Mexico, and in the rich lands of the Incas (referring to Cortez) but not so in the glacial climate of the Arctic. What would have happened to Ross, if, in his attempt to escape, he had burned his boats and stores? We know what would have been the fate of the detached members of Kane's Expedition, if they had not had the refuge of the "Advance" and its fare, poor as it was.

October, 1882.—This evening Lockwood and myself talked concerning our chances of retreat. I told him that if there was no ship at Littleton Island, we have not one chance in a hundred to escape.

October, 1882.—With the timidity or the moral apathy of Lockwood, who does not say anything, and who does not wish any responsibility before the absolutism of Greely, and with the situation of Kislingbury, who cannot say anything, my official situation in respect to the future, which I foresee plainly, is terrible. If Greely exercised his activity of mind in the proper direction, with the same avidity with which he exercises it to oppose me, he might accomplish some good things.

January, 1883 (memorandum).—In speaking of expeditions, Greely said, "Ah! it is all question of luck. If I had not thought that I was lucky I should never have come up here." This declaration of Cæsar and his fortunes, as the only argument in lieu of reasoning, is very little consolation to us, however much it may be to him. How can an Arctic commander expect to have the confidence of his men, and above all of his officers, if they are intelligent, when he expresses such theories?

It is false to say that to succeed it is not necessary, indispensable, to have projects, matured plans, and a fixed base for many theories. It was by the reasoning of Nordenskjöld that he was led to the discovery of the north-east passage. What respect can any one suppose that officers will have for an Arctic commander, a creature of chance; a creature of intrigue; who lacks dignity and personal worth, and who is full of moral infirmities. Instead of hiding them, he displays them prominently. What friendship and regard can a commander inspire who is completely unfit for command; being always in readiness to cast off the responsibility, however slight?

SURGEON TO COMMANDER.

February, 1883.—I think that the United States Government has a right to expect that a commanding officer of her forces will depend for saving the lives of his men on something else than luck!

Memoranda.—The various plans, Jewell and others tell me, are that we will go to Cary Island if we do not find a house or vessel at Littleton Island; there we will get the provisions of the English, transport them to the coast, and pass the winter. And this trifle (?) accomplished, one fine morning, we will, according to Greely, "set out from Littleton Island to find the Esquimaux and make them support us." Another plan is, that we will pass the winter at the

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Cary Islands, living on the 3,000 rations of the English! How can one belittle himself by such follies and such lucubrations!

January, 1883.—I was in the room when Greely was talking to the men. Really if this man knew what contempt could be discerned and listened to, among the men, after he had gone out, he would have been ashamed. I cannot really comprehend how this man will feel when, later, if our retreat should prove disastrous, we become obliged to return here; nor how, after having asserted that he is very certain we will not pass another winter here, he can say that he has thus spoken "merely to encourage the men." But then, more than this, how can he explain away the fact that he has not economized the provisions; used more of this, less of that, etc.? It is very easy to see that Greely will find some way, when the day comes, to cast off the responsibility. That has been his usual plan, and in this case he will say that he has spoken of all his plans to Lockwood, and that he always approved them.

And really Lockwood ought to be responsible on account of his lack of moral courage. He said to me one day: "I don't care, after all. I am not responsible."

SURGEON TO COMMANDER—MEMORANDUM.

I have made a pressing official request for your plans. No reply. I learn by hearing you talk to the men that your plans are matured, and are now given publicly in the enlisted men's quarters; still, you have not thought proper to inform me, so that I might be allowed to look forward and have in my mind coming events, which, if disastrous, bear in my department as well as others. And part of the trouble and peril will encumber me, as surgeon in charge.

MEMORANDA.

Greely often quotes military rule! I would like to know if it is the custom in the army for a commander to hold council with enlisted men or with staff officers!

Dr. Kane, himself in a situation perhaps less critical than ours may be, and notwithstanding his indomitable will, personal, and tried bravery; notwithstanding his adventurous spirit and the important object of the mission, with the lives of his men at stake, gave way to the voice of reason, of humanity, and consulted the needs of his men, justice, humanity and equity.

Now that Greely at last sees our danger, when it is in fact perceptible at a glance, he tries to avoid seeing but one side; avoids anything but the bright side; and tries to stimulate himself with the opinion of Private Whistler. It is a sort of "Dutch courage," like a man who is afraid, and goes to drinking to drown it. Why does he not look the danger of the future in the face calmly, like a man, and provide against all the chances. Then he can say, like the sailor "good-bye, rat," and await the future.

Apropos of the necessity to economize provisions I have said, it is well to hope and to say that a ship will come. The ship may come. But it may not, or may not reach reach us; so, let us be prudent. We now see the danger of having burned our vessels [*vaisseux*]. Let that be an example to us.

Let us provide bread in advance, by care, or, like Hayes and Ross, we will

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be obliged to return here and remain (Tegethof and Franklin), in consequence of the impossibility of reaching Littleton Island.

We have burned our boats [*bateaux*]; let us not burn our house. And that will be the case if we squander everything we have—bread.

If we admit, *à priori*, that we will go down to Littleton Island in eight or ten days with the launch, as has been stated, or in a few weeks with the boats, without finding any serious difficulty, as is predicted; and, passing over the fact that in that water we need not retreat, but wait for a ship, and that in such case the ship would be able to come to our rescue, I will add that we reason against the experience of previous expeditions, to say nothing of the only fatal one, in these waters. Even starting at a more favorable time would be fatal to us. With the other expeditions a quantity of provisions was transported by the Esquimaux for Hayes, Peterson, and Kane, when they retreated. It is not certain that after we have passed Smith Sound we will find open water for the boats. Hayes did not, and his experience with damaged boats, from dragging them over the ice, could be ours with the English boat. The place where Hayes camped—Booth Bay—and that in September, was very favorable. Nevertheless we see how they suffered. What will be our fate if we are obliged to camp in Smith Sound?

February, 1883.—Lockwood said: "As to knowing whether, in seven months, we will be at Cary Island, it is merely a question of red or black." I asked him if, in case a ship does not arrive this year, he expected to winter near to Cary Island? Answer, "Yes." I asked: "But, admitting that you arrived there, which is very doubtful at that time of the year (you have read Hayes?), do you think we can pass the winter on the fuel that we may find there?" Greely said, "Yes; we will be under half rations, and in June I will put all on a floe, and start!" That is enough to show upon what futilities the fate of this expedition depends, if a ship does not come to take us this year.

Our expedition has accomplished a very considerable work, but now is the time for forethought and prudence. If fortune is forced, history teaches us what will be the result. Take the example of Hall, who, if he had known how to stop in time, would not have yielded to his paramount desire to reach a higher latitude, and in consequence brought about wreck, and the "Polaris" drift southward.

Rice and Long have gone to see the launch, and think that Greely has not yet gone. The commander ought at least to make a start, if only for the sake of decency, when our launch is in peril.

I consider indifference, and failure to counsel, under our existing circumstances, equivalent to felony.

I have tried, as far as possible, not to hurt the feelings of Mr. Greely. Upon questions not bearing upon my duty, I have not given my opinion, even when asked.

A second letter contained paragraphs that tend, officially, to throw blame on my advice, in regard to the Esquimaux' habits. I knew that this [advice] was contrary to the ideas of Mr. Greely, which he had publicly manifested. The future of the sledge journeys, however, proved that I was right.

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In the present situation, far from any place where we can have justice; when the house is burning, it is no time to make war with words.

On a question so grave as ours—when facts are clearly known and clearly stated—Mr. Greely falls to hair-splitting, to roundabout statements, which certainly confuse, but do not deceive.

Greely attacked me because, in my medical report, I recommended shoes. If, afterward, I speak to him of that need, he will say to me, "Why did you not remind me of it?" If I speak now of it, he will say that I am "attacking him." He reproached me as "disloyal," for having, in my report, recommended other needful sanitary measures. Greely wishes to play on words in a situation so important and so imminent. I do not.

DETACHED NOTES.

April 21, 1883.—For the last four or five days Lockwood has been experimenting upon a barrel to find the latitude of Fort Conger. To-day he told Israel that he found it to be 83° 50′. That is the man who wants, above all, to beat the English.

April 25, 1883.—In the matter of astronomical observations, five or six days ago, Lockwood, who was taking observations on the barrel, came into the room and said to Greely, "what is the latitude found by the English?" Greely replied. Lockwood said: "Well, I find it 82° 34′." "Very well," said Greely, "that is good: that is perhaps where their error lives. Lockwood record those observations." Lockwood said: "They are only observations for experience." Some days afterward he took a latitude which put the barrel at 83° 53′.

Greely criticises Nares, saying, that, if the admiralty had been informed one year before of a certain thing he did, Captain Nares would have been shamefully degraded. At this saying, I take the defence, against my own will, for I have sworn myself to say nothing; but I cannot longer endure to see heroes attacked by a pigmy.

Before dinner, Greely, reading of Ingefield's expedition, spoke of it to Lockwood, making fun of his geographical labors, and of Ingefield.

This evening in reference to the magnetic book of Ralston (Kislingbury present), Greely wished Lockwood to be told to fill the blank left by Lockwood's forgetting to make observations. What a way of making scientific records! And that, by a man who attacks the scientific honesty of Dr. Bessels and Sir Geo. Nares!

In a conversation (Jewell present), Lockwood says, that one could go in a launch to Britannia; that, in November, he saw the ocean clear.

This evening I heard Greely saying before the men, apropos of the mean temperature: "That of the English is not reliable."

In reference to the aurora, which Greely pretends to have seen at 11 o'clock and 15 minutes, but which I find he has marked at 10 P.M.; it was not an aurora. Ralston protests against it, and says it was the reflection of the moon.

December 29, 1882.—Greely, in speaking to the men yesterday, said it was strange that up to the present time not one of us had died; that in our own country one of us would probably have been dead by this time; and that it

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would be positively preferable if one of us could take upon himself all the evils, disasters, and so on, of the whole, and die! The author of this sentence, to exhibit the same in action as word, was seen yesterday, October 13, 1882, making a scrap book with our magazines. He permits this breach in the Army!

Another aurora claimed to have been seen. It was the sun. To say otherwise would be to utter absurdity.

January 8, 1883.—I go with Brainard to Dutch Island. Carry a watch, try to read the hour; cannot. Lockwood says that he read the hour at Dutch Island the 21st of December, 1881. Mistaken. That was impossible.

During the dinner conversation to-day, the subject being the New York Geographical Society, Greely said: "Judge Daly is a fraud." Lockwood asks: "Why, if he is a fraud, is he President of the Geographical Society?" Greely also spoke of Dr. Hayes's stupid plan of Port Foulke, and says that it makes him indignant to talk about it. During the day he found it possible to attack others also, among them Schawatka and Gilder.

Greely to-day examined his thermometer. Mercury frozen. He said that the English expeditions "did not know the point of congelation of mercury," and that their mercury was not pure.

Coming up to Fort Conger Greely ridiculed the charts of Nares. I found them very accurate, so that one could follow them plainly and easily. This stupid vanity is like the man in all he does.

Apropos of the use of the word "we," made by Dr. Bessels in his book of the "Polaris," Greely said, that he never wrote anything except "I;" that the expression, "we," was not employed even in second-class country editorials. If this man had common sense, he would understand that he could think what he pleases, to be sure, but he ought, at least, to keep such thoughts to himself.

My desire to go to the Arctic regions was so notorious, wherever I lived, that I, more than any other, can brave human opinion, and counsel preparations for the retreat south. Personally, I would prefer to pass another winter here, with the promise of making discoveries, and of reaching a higher north latitude. It has generally been customary in other expeditions, and principally for the honor of the flag—which is essential wisdom—for the commander to consult with his officers. For example, Belcher, Hall, and others. I can but recall the noble figure of Dr. Kane. I do not see that the honor of the flag seems to be at stake at present, or that it seems to demand a sort of forlorn hope. We must rest content with what we have accomplished, which is more than was hoped of us. Starting as a purely meteorological expedition, we have added to that work a remarkable geographical advance.

Greely wishes to go to the north; and has not enough foot-gear to go to the south. In the exercise of my duty I have recommended much care, in this regard. Without care, in what state will our health be next summer? In my counsel, I will speak of the alteration of the condition of our health, if we are obliged to retreat. Cite the example of the "Polaris." Show the resemblance of Kennedy Channel to the north waters—open water in the middle waters.

As much as our duty compels us to remain next spring where we are, *

* At Lady Franklin Bay, Fort Conger.

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even in the face of death, and as much as I would be opposed to a retreat for the entire party in the spring, so much, also, am I opposed to working northward under the circumstances.

MEMORANDUM.

It is not our fault that we are here still; it is the fault of the plan of sending us without a supply-ship, and with no protection to assure our retreat. Regarding our retreat, I would advise, instead of sending a sledge to take photographic views—from simple personal vanity—a plan intended to employ the sledge to save those photographs which have been taken in the past, and to take all documents, and to carry provisions to the south.

According to the testimony of the survivors, there were carried, on the retreat, photographs, original negatives, a pendulum-weight of 90 pounds, bear rugs, etc., and the commander's full parade suit and sword; while the men were restricted to eight pounds of luggage, and, according to a letter in my hands, were obliged to cut the tops from their socks to reduce their package.

MEMORANDUM.

If I were asked what are, in my opinion, the three cardinal qualities for the solid base of an expedition, the question of moral bravery being established, *à priori*, as equal among its members, I would say: First, common sense; Second, common sense; Third, always, and unto the end, common sense.

Two unprecedented facts occurred in the Lady Franklin Bay Polar expedition: Highest North and Health, both attained against physical odds. Lockwood, Brainard, and Surgeon Pavy were the authors. The death of the two victims chronicled the progress of science. Duty was performed at a nation's bidding, and ended by a nation's neglect.

LILLA MAY PAVY.

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NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

MONEY derived by taxation from the people, in a representative popular government, should be expended only for those objects which are of supreme necessity, and which can be secured by the State alone, or to an extent so far beyond the possible results of individual action as to justify governmental interference upon considerations of the general welfare: the greatest good of the greatest number. This principle undoubtedly authorizes the several States in the Union to appropriate from their revenues for a system of free public schools, and, under certain conditions, might warrant an expenditure from the national treasury for the education of school populations in such States as, from any cause, are unable or unwilling to provide for general instruction. The definition of this power is necessarily vague and uncertain. It must be left to the final judgment of those who are intrusted with its exercise. Legislation is the science of compromise and adjustment. It has no syllogisms and no mathematical demonstrations. If practical advantages result, either from observance or from violation of established maxims, it is enough.

The proposition to tax the people of the United States seventy-nine million dollars, in addition to the amounts they now pay for education, to support common schools in the several States and Territories of the Union, is therefore a complex problem, and its just solution must depend upon many conditions not yet clearly ascertained.

The necessity for education as a permanent element of our national life is admitted. The public school system is everywhere ineradicably established. It is inseparable from our civilization, and is imbedded in the purposes and convictions of the people. It is recognized in the organic law of every State. It has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, without any intervention on the part of the General Government, or any attempt at national control or supervision. Its beneficent functions, not only

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in morals and manners but in politics, are fully recognized; and those who demand a change in the agencies by which those results have been attained should show cause, affirmatively, for the modifications which they propose. This the advocates of the measure that recently passed the Senate attempt to do, by the averment that, in certain States of the Union, there is a menacing mass of infant and adult illiteracy, with which those communities are unable to cope. No indisposition or disinclination is alleged in any quarter; the question is one of ability and capacity. Neither has it been denied that these illiterates belong almost exclusively to the colored race. No mendicant was so shameless as to claim that assistance was required for the education of the Caucasians. Divested of its drapery, therefore, the plain question is, whether the nation should contribute to the support and maintenance of common schools for colored children, the descendants of the slaves who were liberated and enfranchised in the Southern States by the operations of the Civil War. It does not concern the manumitted slaves, for there is no person of school age now in the United States, black or white, who was not born free.

The answer to this assumed necessity for contributions toward the education of colored children in the late slave States is a bill to distribute seventy-nine million dollars from the treasury among all the States and Territories of the Union, in proportion to the illiteracy of their entire population, and not upon the basis of the illiteracy of those of school age, which could alone be remedied, nor of the colored illiterates, for whose instruction it is actually intended.

In three fundamental particulars, therefore, the pending measure is radically and essentially dishonest. The degrading implication that any State or Territory, north of the Potomac and the Ohio Rivers or on the Pacific slope, is unable or indisposed to maintain the free common school system without national aid, is as false as it is impudent, and yet they are all included in the bill. As an independent proposition, the assumption that Massachusetts, New York or Kansas required pecuniary assistance for the next ten years to support their public schools would be regarded with derision, and the offer of such aid would be rejected with contempt.

The inclusion of those illiterates above the school age as a basis for the acquisition of the money by the Southern States, approaches the frontier of grand larceny. It is without justification either in morals or reason.

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The exclusion of the same class in the distribution of the money in those States, completes this exhibition of legislative jugglery, under which twenty million dollars are to be given to States and Territories that do not ask it, and nearly sixty million dollars to the States lately in rebellion, ostensibly for the education of the colored children therein. But the practical result of the scheme will be, that, out of the sixty million dollars distributed in the South, nearly forty millions will be devoted to the education of white children, and less than twenty millions to the colored children, for whom it is all nominally appropriated! How much of of this fragment of twenty millions the colored race would ultimately receive at the hands of those who have shown such devotion to their welfare hitherto, is left to conjecture. It is perhaps not unjust to suspect that the white leaders in South Carolina and Mississippi will not exert themselves inordinately to elevate the blacks to such a condition of intelligence and independence that the suppression of acknowledged majorities by violence and fraud will at last become impossible.

Assuming for the moment that the seventy-nine million dollars would be impartially distributed and honestly applied to the objects for which it is designed, statistics do not disclose the existence of any conditions in the Southern States that call for national interference. The total school population in 1884 in those States was 6,249,902; an increase from 1882 of 375,539. The entire expenditure for school purposes for 1884 was $17,053,467; an increase from 1882 of $2,232,495. But it is a very significant incident of this computation, that, while the colored school population is about one-half of the whole number, the white children receive more than two-thirds the aggregate amount that is alleged to be devoted to the equal education of both. The expenditure, *per capita*, for the enrolled school population of both races is about five dollars; and, while this is inadequate, it is steadily increasing from year to year with the growth of the tax-paying capacity of the people. There is a subtle and contagious energy in the idea of universal education, which is being slowly communicated through the South, rousing its apathetic lethargy to new life. If left to the operation of those forces which have been so potential elsewhere, the whole lump will soon be leavened; the fatal virus left by the inoculation of slavery will be eliminated, and a more powerful and enduring civilization will be builded upon

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the ruins of the old. It should not be forgotten that the former social fabric was erected upon compulsory ignorance. A few educated leaders did the thinking for each community. A slave who learns to think learns not to be a slave. When the soul is emancipated the body cannot be enchained. The war was the least part of the revolution that has occurred in the South. The liberation of the slaves emancipated their masters from a servitude more dangerous and more degrading than slavery; and the subsequent agitations have resulted from the gradual readjustment of the dislocated social and political forces to their new environment. Had the Republican party been courageous or intelligent enough to have attempted the reconstruction of the South through its brains, rather than through its numbers, the most lamentable chapter in our history might have been unwritten. The true regeneration of the South dates from the final withdrawal of national intervention in 1877, and the disastrous failure of the experiment should be an instructive lesson to those sciolists who again invoke governmental control and supervision of local affairs in the States, upon any pretext whatever, unless the wrongs to be redressed, or the dangers to be averted, are so immediate and so formidable as to admit of no other remedy.

The perpetual lamentation about the impoverishment of the South has no just basis, and appeals for charity on this account are either cowardly or insincere. There is no part of the country that has made more substantial progress since the war ended; none that is richer in every element of an enduring and opulent prosperity. Soil, climate, timber, metals, coal, harbors, navigable streams, combine to afford every essential requisite of a wealthy, strong and tranquil civilization. Perhaps the most absurd fallacy is the reiterated declaration that, by the act of emacipation, four billion dollars of property was destroyed; as if the transfer of the ownership of four million human beings from their masters to themselves annihilated their value to the State! Slavery was the most extravagant industrial system that was ever devised, and statistics abundantly show that free labor in the South, even under the most unfavorable circumstances, has already become more economical and profitable. Financially, the Southern States are just as competent to educate their infant illiterates without national aid as any other of the States and Territories of the Union. What they require is vigorous preaching of the gospel of work.

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Reared in the idea that labor is degrading, in every emergency they prefer to beg rather than to dig. If there is a flood, a cyclone, an exposition, a tax due on whisky or a race to educate, they cry out lustily that they are poor and appeal to Congress for relief. Professional pauperism offers an easy method of subsistence, but it is not consistent with an elevated manhood. Mendicancy is a recognized calling, but it is not a hopeful characteristic for an entire community. Its occasional success, however, received a brilliant illustration in the "loan" of seventeen hundred thousand dollars to the New Orleans Exposition—the most stupendous case of bunco-steering in the annals of recorded time.

Another favorite argument in support of the educational gift enterprise is founded on the assertion that the Southern States did not share in the donations from the public domain for school, college and university purposes. Speaking literally, in the case of two or three of the original thirteen this may be true, but as a general statement it is wholly incorrect. The State of Mississippi received nearly one-sixth of its entire area for various public uses; a gift that, properly husbanded, would have produced a fund whose income would have defrayed the entire expenses of the State Government. But it was squandered with such shameless knavery that defalcation seems to have been the recognized standard of official morality. The step from larceny to repudiation was short, and the contamination of the State became complete. The Peabody Education Fund has one million dollars in repudiated Mississippi bonds, which have been declared valid by the highest tribunals of the State, and the trustees of that noble charity have denied further participation in its benefits to the people upon the ground that they are debtors and defaulters.

Florida belongs in the same category. Repudiated bonds of that State are included in the endowment of Mr. Peabody, for which he expressed his confident expectations that provision for the payment of principal and interest would be made. The trustees declare, in their report, that Florida is in a prosperous condition and amply able to discharge all her legal and equitable obligations; that she is able to make abundant provision for her own common schools and no longer needs aid from the fund to which her people also are debtors and defaulters.

And yet, both these States stretch out their unclean hands in a passionate appeal for national sympathy and benevolence. Com-

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mon schools are as indispensable to the safety of the republic as the army or the navy; but, if they are to be supported by the General Government, the money should be expended by its own agents under the direction of Congress. Appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors, for the construction of railroads and for experiments in agriculture, are annually made to be spent in the different States, but it has never been claimed that on this account the control and supervision should be relinquished to local authorities. So, if ignorance exists in such measure as to threaten suffrage or to impair prosperity, the nation may unquestionably remove it, as it may build a breakwater or dredge a channel for commerce; but it should be done as a national purpose through national agencies.

Probably the best method to accomplish this result would be by the establishment of training schools for teachers, educational cadets like those instructed in the military and naval schools at West Point and Annapolis. By this plan the General Government could elevate the standard of education without interfering with the freedom of State action. Symmetry, unity, and cohesion could be attained. Skilled supervision would increase the efficiency of the entire corps of instructors. Economy of administration would be secured and the States would be relieved of the largest item of expense which now attends the common school system. Such a force of teachers, wisely trained for their work, supported while pursuing their studies by the Government, and enlisting in its service after graduation, could be assigned to duty upon the frontier of illiteracy, the advance guard of a peaceful army, whose conquests would enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge and whose victories would increase the opportunities of human happiness.

To such a scheme as this no constitutional objections appear. The most rigid particularist could discern no violation either of the spirit or the letter of the Constitution. All parties could consistently unite in support of a measure which neither infringed upon the reserved powers of the States nor permitted those powers to prevent the accomplishment of a great deed of national duty and justice.

JOHN JAMES INGALLS.

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MORE ABOUT AMERICAN LANDLORDISM.

In the North American Review for March, Mr. Henry Strong and Prof. David Bennett King attempt to show that the American people have no reason to concern themselves about the growth of landlordism, arguing that the tendency in this country is to the diffusion instead of the concentration of land ownership, and that, in the absence of special privileges and laws of primogeniture and entail, there can be no such landlordism here as in countries where its evil effects are admitted.

The assertion that the tendency is to the greater diffusion of land ownership, is, by Mr. Strong, based upon the census reports and his own experience in selling railroad lands and loaning money on mortgage, and, by Prof. King, upon general report and the cutting up of bonanza farms, cattle ranges and railroad grants.

As to the census reports, they do indeed, as cited by Mr. Strong, assert a reduction in the average size of farms from 153 acres in 1870 to 134 acres in 1880. This statement is, however, as I showed in a controversy with Prof. Walker, in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, in May, 1883, utterly inconsistent with the returns for 1860, 1870 and 1880 of the number of farms by classes of specified area, tabulated together in the Census Compendium. Those tables showed, for the decade ending in 1880, a regular progression toward farms of larger size, ranging from a decrease of 37 per cent. in the smallest class (under three acres), to an increase of 668 per cent. in the largest class (over 1,000 acres). Professor Walker then seemed incapable of explaining his own figures or throwing any light on the discrepancy, but since that time the third volume of the full Census Reports has been published, and in it the classification of farms by specified areas for 1870 is stated to be according to *improved* area, while the classification for 1880 is stated to be by *total* area. This makes it as impossible to institute any comparison between the two sets of returns as it is to

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understand why such a classification should be made on one basis for one census and on another for the next.

I refer to this matter as explaining how it is that opposing writers are able, from the same Census Report, to quote figures which indicate opposite tendencies. But leaving the curiosities of the census to those who have time to dig them out, and accepting as the best we can now get the figures which show a decrease in the average area of American farms from 153 acres in 1870 to 134 acres in 1880, let us see what such a decrease may mean.

It certainly does not mean, as Mr. Strong implies, anything inconsistent with the statement of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that the proportion of tenant farmers is increasing, and in nowise shows any tendency to the diffusion of land ownership. These returns, it must be noted, are not returns of landholding, but of cultivated farms. They do not, as Mr. Strong seems to suppose, include the vast amount of land held by speculators, railroad companies and syndicates, the great stretches of timber and mineral land which have passed into the possession of individuals or companies; they do not even include the cattle ranches and stock ranges, as is readily seen by a reference to the tables showing the amount of live stock on the enumerated farms, to which is added in a note a computation of the cattle on stock ranges and ranches. It is probable that, under the instruction that "wherever there is a resident overseer or manager there a farm is to be reported," some of the great bonanza farms would be returned as several farms, and it is also probable that farms made up in whole or part of land obtained by dummy entries would, for some time at least, be returned as having separate owners and therefore as separate farms. On the other hand, orchards, nurseries and market gardens, which the growing concentration of population in cities must have proportionately much increased, are all returned as farms. Thus, the little patches cultivated by Chinese or Italians around San Francisco, or the small vineyards or orange groves which have been planted about Sonoma or Los Angeles, would each count as a farm, while such a "wheat factory" as that of the late Dr. Glenn might count as several farms, and the enormous ranches, and great tracts held on speculation, would not count at all. And, further than this, it is to be remarked that, with the exception of new sections like Dakota, into which the tide of agricultural immigration has been pouring, the largest in-

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crease in the number of farms has been in the cotton States, and has for the most part meant no cutting up of ownership, but simply a change from the plantation system of cultivation to the small agricultural tenant system of Ireland.

But, more important still than all this, it must be remembered that it is only in a stationary community that decrease in the average size of holdings would indicate the greater diffusion of ownership. In a community advancing in population and the arts, the intenser uses to which land is put beget a general tendency to decrease in the size of holdings. As society develops, the stock range is succeeded by the farm; the farm of extensive culture by the farm of intensive culture; the grain field by the market garden; and the market garden, in its turn, is cut up into city lots. But while this division is going on, the ownership of land may be in reality concentrating and landlordism increasing, since what would be a very small stock range would be an enormous farm; what would be a very small farm would be an enormous market garden; what would be a small market garden would be a very large city lot. Take, for instance, the area occupied by the city of New York. As compared with the old Dutch days, the size of the holdings has enormously diminished, and where they were then measured by acres and hundreds of acres, they are now measured by feet and inches. But, where each family once owned its own home, the family that owns its own home is now the rare exception; where each house was once surrounded by garden and orchard, a lot of twenty feet front now carries family upon family, living, on top of each other, in tiers; where the ownership of acres once gave a man only the opportunity to earn a living from Mother Nature by the sweat of his brow, the ownership of square feet now enables him to live in luxurious idleness on the toil of his fellow-citizens. Thus, while, in New York, the average size of holdings has greatly decreased, the power of landlordism and the evils of landlordism have greatly increased. The ownership of a narrow lot on Wall Street or Broadway may give greater command over the labor of others than the ownership of a square league in New Mexico.

Now, what has gone on and is still going on in New York—what any American may see going on in the outskirts of any growing city, where farm land is being converted into market gardens or suburban villas, and market gardens and villa grounds are being converted into the sites of factories or divided into city lots—is pre-

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cisely what is going on in the country as a whole. There *is* going on that cutting up of railroad grants and of great tracts held on speculation, to which Mr. Strong and Prof. King refer; the ranch is being subdivided into the farm, the plantation into the cotton patch or orange grove, and the farm of extensive culture is in some cases being turned into smaller farms of intensive culture. But all this does not prove that the ownership of land is not concentrating or that landlordism is not developing. For, simultaneously with this division, a re-formation is going on by which field is being added to field, and farm to farm, and lot to lot, and, though the average area may be smaller, the average value (in which and not in area is the true measurement of landlordism) may be far greater. Considering how rapidly the country has been developing during the decade; considering how the cutting up of Southern plantations into tenant holdings has increased the number of farms where there has been no division of ownership, and how, in the Northern and Western States farms which by the score and even the hundred have passed into the hands of single individuals or corporations, are yet returned as separate; and considering how the great aggregations, such as the twenty-eight ranges recently advertised by the Central Pacific Railroad Company for lease in the State of Nevada, of which the smallest is 30,000 acres and the largest 600,000 acres, the million acre estate in the Pan Handle of Texas just fenced in by a company of Chicago capitalists, the millions and millions of acres owned by the Distons and Elkinses and titled or untitled foreign capitalists, and the great stretches of appropriated iron and coal and timber lands,* are all excluded from the enumeration—a decrease in the average total area of farms from 153 acres to 134 would be, in reality, negative indication of a strong tendency the other way.

Prof. King says, "One need but to go into any good farming community and inquire how the numbers and size of the existing farms compare with those of twenty-five years ago to be convinced" that "there has been a constant tendency pretty much everywhere to subdivide the land and disperse it among a larger and larger number of owners." As to this point, I have made a great deal of inquiry of well-informed men in various parts of the country, and save when social development has brought about a cutting up due

* Three parties in Detroit are said to own ninety-nine hundredths of the timber land of Michigan.

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to the putting of land to intenser uses (which is probably what Prof. King had in mind), I have found a general agreement that the size of farms is increasing and that property in land is concentrating into relatively fewer hands.

"It has become a postulate among farmers that in order to make a farm pay you must live on it yourself," says Mr. Strong. He has evidently got hold of a copy of "Poor Richard's Almanac," and in his innocence has mistaken its date for 1886. It *used* to be a postulate that "he who by the plow would thrive, himself must either hold or drive;" but all that has been changed. If Mr. Strong will look, he will now find, from New York to California a growing class of farmers who live in cities and never touch the handles of a plow. I can show him, in Brooklyn, farmers who live 1,500 miles away from their farms. And such American farmers may doubtless be found in Paris or London.

But it is not worth while to rest anything on personal observation, even where, as in this case, it may be confidently invoked, since there are other things to which appeal may be made. We may admit the correctness of the census statement of a diminution in the average total area of farms during the last decade; but if we take for comparison the basis on which the classification by area for 1860 and 1870 is now said to have been made—that of the improved land in farms—a basis certainly better adapted to show the deeper and stronger tendencies, insomuch as in the long-run the division of land into farms will follow the tendencies of cultivation, we find a different result. Dividing the total area of improved land in farms for 1870 by the number of farms returned for that year, we get an average of 71.023 acres. Doing the same thing with the totals for 1880, we get an average of 71.034 acres. Thus, though the average total acreage of American farms has diminished, the average improved acreage has actually increased. The increase is in itself slight, but, under the conditions previously pointed out, is exceedingly significant. It shows that the tendency to a larger scale of cultivation has been strong enough to even more than counteract the reduction in average resulting from the growth of population and from such special causes as the conversion of Southern plantations into tenant farms.

But to satisfy ourselves of the existence of this tendency in American agriculture it is not necessary to apply to observation or to resort to the census tables. When, on a winter morning, one

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sees the weather-cocks pointing south he does not have to go outside or to hang out a thermometer to tell that the weather is growing warmer. And from what may be seen in any city one may confidently infer that agriculture is tending to a larger scale. He has but to note the tendency in all other branches of production and observe the agricultural machines with which the stores of dealers in such articles are filled. The mechanical inventions which are revolutionizing agriculture *must* give rise to such concentrating tendencies in that industry as similar inventions have given rise to in other branches of production. The small farmer is disappearing by virtue of the same law under which the hand-loom weaver has disappeared. Whether this effect be good or bad, it is of the nature of modern progress. It is idle to ignore it, and, unless we are prepared to throttle invention and raise a Chinese wall against advancing civilization, it is useless to resist it.

Last summer we had accounts of the dreadful ravages of the cholera in Southern Europe, just as, during that first period of our national life, now fast drawing to a close, we have had accounts of the dreadful ravages of landlordism in countries where there was not, as with us, a virgin continent to overrun.

Let us carry ourselves forward in imagination to the coming summer, and imagine ourselves on board a trans-Atlantic steamer filled with returning tourists. Let us imagine that, on the second or third day out, a whisper runs among the passengers, as they emerge from their state-rooms, that the doctor has reported to the captain that one-fourth of the crew are down with cholera. Can we imagine one of these passengers as he sits down to breakfast nonchalantly remarking: "What a pity it is that we had no reports yesterday and the day before, so that we might be able to tell whether cholera has been increasing on board."

Or can we imagine another to chime in: "Cholera increasing! That is nonsense. Since only one-fourth of the crew are now down with it, three-fourths of the crew have evidently got well of it, and if the others go on getting well as rapidly, there will not be a sick man on board by the time we reach Sandy Hook."

We cannot imagine men under such conditions talking in this way. And yet this is precisely the way in which Mr. Strong and Prof. King meet the analogous fact that, by the last census, more than a fourth of American farmers were tenants.

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The reason why, from the fact that one-fourth of the ship's company were down with cholera, no passenger would hesitate to infer that the disease had been increasing and was still tending to increase, is that the normal condition of ships' crews is not to be down with cholera, and, since the whole ship's company were presumably well when they left port, the fact that one-fourth were now ill, indicates progress from health to disease, not from disease to health.

So with tenancy. It is not the normal estate of man, and is so far from being the primary condition of American agriculture that we have been accustomed to look on the American farmer as necessarily the owner of the acres he tilled.

Mr. Strong would have us think, and Prof. King really seems to think, that tenant farming is, in the natural order of things, the intermediary stage through which "agricultural laborers" are enabled to pass into a condition of land owners, just as, in the older handicrafts, the condition of journeyman was the intermediary condition between that of apprentice, with which all craftsmen must begin, and that of master workman, to which all could aspire. The truth is just the reverse of this. Tenant-farming is the intermediary stage through which independent tillers of the soil have in other countries passed, and are in this country now beginning to pass, to the condition of agricultural laborers and chronic paupers.

But sufficiently startling as is the fact that in 1880 more than one-fourth of American farms were cultivated by tenants, this of itself does not fully indicate how largely our agricultural population have already been divorced from the soil. Tenancy is only the later form of the disease; the earlier form is the mortgage.

The idea of holding agricultural land for its rents, as is done in England and Ireland, has been foreign to the American land-grabber. His notion has been to sell it, and then to move forward in advance of settlement and get more land to sell again. In lieu of cash he has been ready to sell on mortgage, which gives a security transferable to investors who do not wish the risk of speculation nor the trouble of tenants. And on the other hand, the purchase of land on mortgage has conformed better than tenancy to American ideas and to the hopefulness general in a new country.

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What the proportion of mortgaged farms is, it is of course impossible to say, but considering the extent to which mortgaging prevails in the older sections of the country, and the fact that in the newer sections the great majority of the smaller farmers begin with a mortgage, I am disposed to think that fifty per cent. may not be too high an estimate. Taking the country all through, mortgaging is certainly more common than renting. Yet if the number of farmers under mortgage merely equals the number of renters, the farmers who really own the land they till are already in a minority in the United States!

But it needs no reference to census tables or special facts to prove that under present conditions the small American freeholder is doomed. Here are certain broad facts of common knowledge: Our population is increasing. We have now practically reached the limit of our public domain. In agriculture, as in all other branches of industry, the march of invention and the improvement of the processes of production and exchange tend steadily to the requirement of more capital. The value of land is rising. The rate of interest is falling.

Given these conditions, and wherever land is treated as private property, whether in the Eastern Hemisphere or in the Western, in the first century or in the twentieth; on the earth or on the moon, it necessarily follows that the ownership of land must tend to concentrate, and an increasing proportion of the people to become tributary to the rest.

For when land has all passed into private possession, new comers, whether they arrive from other countries or through the gates of birth, can get land only by donation, heritage or purchase. Few can get land by donation or heritage (already the large majority of the children born in the United States do not inherit land) and, since as land increases in value it becomes harder to get it by purchase, the landless, as compared with the landed, must steadily increase.

Further than this, the land-owning class must absolutely diminish. Not only do the accidents and misadventures of life constantly operate to shake individuals from the landed to the landless class (and while descent is easy ascent is difficult), but to those who do not have an abundance of capital it becomes more profitable to rent land than to own it. For land, being the species of property least liable to accidents and most certain to augment in value by

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social growth, those who wish to make long and secure investments can afford to give more for it than it is worth to those who must put to personal use such capital as they can get.

Here is a farmer, the owner of his own farm, who needs more capital, or, what is the same thing, believes he can put more capital to a profitable use. He can borrow on his farm to one-half its selling value at six per cent. But he can sell it outright for its full value, and then get the use of it as a tenant for a rent amounting to not more than four or even three per cent. Obviously, therefore, he can get the use of the largest capital at the lowest rate by selling his land. Or if he finds that he can profitably use more land, the cheapest way for him to get it and the capital to cultivate it, is to sell what he has and rent a larger area. He may in this be abandoning a certainty for an uncertainty, and contingencies he did not foresee and chances on which he did not calculate will tell against the class, if they do not in all cases tell against the individual. But this disposition to take chances—to abandon the bird in the hand in the hope of seizing two in the bush—is characteristic of our race as it was of the Romans, and it is especially characteristic of our time. We make of life a gamble, and our institutions, our education, our literature, our ideals and even our religion all foster the spirit. What, practically, is the lesson of Sunday-school and Church? Is it not "Be good, that you may die rich and *leave* a lot of money?" Who are our envied men? Are they not those who by desperate chances and lucky hits, if not by deeds which differ from those of highwaymen only in degree, have amassed wealth? To how many of the boys and girls now growing up does life seem to offer anything comparable to the hope of becoming rich? The rich man who heeding Christ's injunction, should sell all he had and give to the poor, would with us be in danger of being sent to an insane asylum or of having a guardian appointed at the request of his relatives. The man whom we deem sane is the man who, like an English clergyman of the last century, *leaves* 687 pairs of boots, 980 pairs of pantaloons and other things in proportion, provided he *leaves* them in the potential form of "gilt-edged" securities or well-selected real estate.

"Peasant proprietary" or "occupying ownership," which are the names European economists give to that system of ownership which we have regarded as typically American, may exist for a long while among a population whose natural increase is restrained,

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where emigration is not thought of, where son follows father in the old ways and labor-saving machinery is little used, and where local attachments are strong. It may exist for a long while among such a people as the rural population of parts of France. But among a people such as ours, restless, aspiring, used to emigration, almost without local attachments, accustomed to welcome the new rather than to venerate the old—a population increasing in numbers, grasping for wealth, among whom invention succeeds invention and labor-saving machine displaces labor-saving machine—the economic tendencies that make for change to work upon plastic material.

This economic advantage to the farmer of small capital in renting instead of owning land where it has become very valuable, and a class having large means to invest has grown up, has been the great agency which *in spite of* the difficulties imposed upon the transfer of land has so concentrated ownership in Great Britain. At the accession of James II., England was hardly as far advanced on the road to landlordism as the United States is now. For not only, as stated by Macaulay, were the majority of English farmers owners of their farms, but there still remained large areas of commons, and much of the land for which rent was paid was held on customary rents, instead of rack-rents as with us. But by the beginning of this century the small occupying owner—the prototype of our typical American farmer—had almost entirely disappeared. He had not been violently dispossessed; he had simply yielded to economic conditions which gave him promise of greater advantages in selling than in holding. Of the representatives of this class some had emigrated, some had become tenant farmers on a larger scale, some had joined the increasing population of the cities or had gone abroad to fight the battles of the British oligarchy or to assist in holding down and governing British colonies and conquests, and some had sunk to the condition of agricultural laborers, with whom, until within the last few years the breath of a new life has begun to stir among the British masses, there was as little thought and as little hope of ever owning the land they tilled as there was of owning the moon.

And this economic cause was undoubtedly the main agency which in ancient Italy converted the little independent patrimonies of Roman husbandmen into slave-worked *latifundia* and tenant farms. In reading history we must remember the fore-

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shortening effect which time produces. The hill-tops are grouped together, and the great valleys and table-lands that lie between are lost to the eye. What we read of is the *extraordinary* things —the wars, the tumults, the crimes; but the ordinary life of the people passes unobserved, and the most potent of the agencies that produce change are least noticed simply because their influence is widest and most constant.

That our own "land-grabbers" had their antetypes in ancient Rome is true, and that fraud, violence, and legal chicanery were used to convert "the corn-land that was of public right" into private domains and make the small cultivator willing to leave what answered to the "quarter-section" of the American settler, is doubtless as true as with us. But the vicissitudes of life and the influence of the money-lender must have been still more potent.

"There is very little of useful practical comparison in anything Roman with anything American," says Mr. Strong. This is the true spirit of "spread eagleism"—the spirit of the "What have we to do with Abroad?" of a Republican senator. Perhaps it is as useless to argue with those who think this way as it is to point out the wrecks made by dissipation to the young fellow, who, rejoicing in the spring of his strength, thinks that dissipation doesn't hurt *him*, and that he can carouse all night and be "as fresh as ever" in the morning. But if, on his part, Professor King will look, he may see that the causes he thinks peculiar to Rome, and to which he attributes the disappearance of the small Roman cultivator, are in operation here. What is the competition of slave-labor to the competition of machinery, to the power of getting special rates from railroads, and to the advantages that the larger capitalist has in our speculative markets? If in ancient Italy the wealthy "discriminated most unfairly against the poorer farmers in regard to taxes and the use of the public lands," is it not also true that the small farmer here is taxed far more highly than the rich land-holder, and that the herdsmen of the great stock-raiser and the barbed wire of domestic and foreign companies drive American citizens off the public domain? If the legislative, executive and judicial powers of the Roman government were "almost entirely in the hands of the wealthy land-owners and money-lenders," what has been the case in the United States? That the ultimate power of making laws and changing constitutions is

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in the hands of the masses of the American people is true. But was not this in reality true, for a long time at least, of the Roman people? And what is the use of power to those who will not use it?

Human nature is not changed by the crossing of an ocean, and social laws do not vary with meridians of longitude; nor yet are they suspended by written constitutions. What went on in Rome and what went on in Great Britain has also begun here, and must go on all the faster that our life is quicker and the obstacles to industrial change are weaker.

How far we have gone toward landlordism is shown by the fact that rent in our new States is not unusually one-half the crop. When three per cent. bonds bear a premium, and money can be had at one per cent. on call, it requires no prophet to foresee that those whose anxiety is to obtain good investments will soon turn to landed "estates" of the English type, and, as soon as the movement fairly begins, the same social distinction which in England has attached to the ownership of land will begin to attach to it here, and will hurry on the movement.

As for the "foreign landlords" (of whom, despite Mr. Strong, we have many), who are already beginning to establish here "estates" of the English type, the prejudice against them is vulgar and irrational. If I must pay tribute to any one for the privilege of living in my native country, what difference does it make to me whether he lives three miles or three thousand miles away? And that Landlord Scully, of Tipperary, compels his Illinois tenants to doff their hats when they enter his "estate office" to pay the rack-rents from which he is said to draw $400,000 per annum to support him in London, no more fills me with indignation than does the fact that our own countryman, my fellow-missionary to Scotland, Mr. Ross Winans, will not let a native Scotsman, nor a native Scotsman's pet lamb, enter that great deer park of his that stretches across Scotland from sea to sea. Mr. Winans did not make the laws of Scotland nor Mr. Scully those of Illinois. Scotchmen have no right to complain of the one nor Americans of the other. If men will put saddles on their backs and bridles in their mouths, they must expect the booted and spurred to ride.

As for American landlordism, if it differs in anything from the worst Irish landlordism, that is solely due to the fact that our press-

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ure of population is not yet so great. All the powers that the worst Irish landlord ever exercised are inherent in the absolute ownership of land recognized by American law. These powers were not, in Ireland or in any other country, given by special laws; they arise from the power of the owner to fix the terms on which another may use his property. Landlord Scully is as free to fix the terms on which American citizens may live on his Illinois estates as he ever was, (and far more free than he is now) to fix the terms on which Irishmen could live on his Tipperary estates. He may require that they shall make any improvements or conform to any rules, or wear any dress, or send their children to any school, or go to any church, just as readily as he can fix the rent on which he may choose to lease them his land. If they do not like his terms they are just as free as Irishmen have always been—to emigrate. And it is merely because the greater sparsity of population makes emigration easier that American citizens are not yet compelled to accept as hard terms as were ever imposed on Irish tenants. But emigration will not long be easier. We are on the verge of an event which is, in some respects, the most important that has occurred since Columbus sighted land—the "fencing in" of the last available quarter-section of the American domain.

As for any hope of checking the growth of landlordism by limiting the size of estates or any other half-way measures, that is idle.

In saying that Italy was ruined by great estates, Pliny undoubtedly took a superficial view—a view akin to that of those who rail against the great estates of British landlords, or denounce the land barons who are fencing in far greater estates in our own country. The great Roman estates, like the other things which Mr. Strong summarizes in the verdict "general corruption," were an effect, not a cause. What, from a primitive condition of substantial equality and hardy virtue, developed the monstrous wealth of the Roman patrician and the equally monstrous poverty of the Roman proletarian; what produced a state of society, having at one extreme bestiality and at the other brutishness; what rotted out the heart of a world-conquering power and rendered civilization helpless before the assaults of barbarism, was private property in land—the ignoring of the essential distinction between the gifts of nature and the works of man; the extension to the element on which and from which all must live of the same rights of property

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that justly attach only to the produce of labor. This is the primary evil from which "land-grabbing" and "landlordism" and exhausted fields and congested cities, and that unjust distribution of wealth which gives to some more than it is good for them to have and denies to others what is necessary to healthful life, must inevitably flow, with a rapidity proportioned to that of material progress. It is this that destroyed the Roman civilization, and it is this that must destroy our modern civilization, unless the axe be laid, not to the branches, but to the root of the tree.

Since man is a land animal that can only live on land and from land; since land is to him the store-house of all material, the necessary basis of all production, the place and the thing on which alone his power to labor can be put to any use, wherever one part of the people are made owners of the land and another part of the people are denied all legal rights to its use save as they buy or rent it, a fundamental tendency to inequality is set up, which, as population increases and inventions are made and the arts develop, operates with increasing force. In the necessary relation between man and the planet; in the simple truth, obvious to the veriest savage or the most unlettered child, that it is beyond man's power to make something out of nothing, and that men who are denied all right to the bounty of nature cannot avail themselves of their own power to labor, and hence must be forced into a cut-throat competition to sell their labor to those who alone can provide opportunity for its use, lies the explanation of all those social paradoxes that are so perplexing to men who search for explanations where they cannot be found. Why labor-saving invention is turning into a curse, and the opportunity to toil is considered a boon; why, with millions of acres of virgin soil, our roads are filled with tramps; why, with unsatisfied desires for wealth, thousands of willing workers stand idle; why biting want and actual starvation co-exist with what is called "over-production;" why, in the shadow of church and library and museum, are growing up those fiercer Huns and Vandals of whom Macaulay prophesied; why great armies are marshalling in what is blindly termed "the conflict between labor and capital," and a war is in its incipient stages that may soon give cities to the flames—all this is clear to any one who will regard first principles. Given a world tenanted by human beings like ourselves, with its surface made the property of some of its inhabitants as we are making this continent, and

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though invention went to the length of enabling all possible wealth to be produced without labor, it would only be to make paupers of those who owned nothing but their labor. Given such a world, and though wealth rained down from the heavens as manna did upon the ancient Israelites, it would all become the property of a class, and, amid mountainous "over-production," those who had no rights in the land which intercepted the gifts of heaven could only be saved from starvation by degrading charity.

At the root of all our social difficulties lies a social crime—the crime of denying to the children born among us their equal right to the use of the material universe into which their Creator brings them.

Mr. Strong asks, "What has America omitted to do?" The answer is simple. We have omitted to apply to the most important of all social adjustments—the most fundamental of all human relations—the principle enunciated in our Declaration of Independence; and, in our treatment of that natural element on which and by which all must live, we have ignored the self-evident truth "that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain *unalienable* rights."

Until that truth is regarded, our Republic is a house built on the sand and our civilization must breed forces for its own destruction.

HENRY GEORGE.

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A FAMOUS DIPLOMATIC DISPATCH.

THE world is full of reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln. A paper, given in *fac-simile* in this issue of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, will doubtless prove a new and surprising revelation of the man, even to those of us who supposed that we knew him best. This paper is a reproduction of the original dispatch of Mr. Seward, as corrected by Mr. Lincoln, conveying to Mr. Adams, our Minister at London, his first full instructions after the outbreak of the Rebellion.

Many military men, who have had access to Mr. Lincoln's papers, have classed him as the best general of the war. This paper will go far toward establishing his reputation as its ablest diplomatist. He had been President for only three months. Certainly, when he came to the office, the farthest thing from the thought of the people was to credit him with diplomatic knowledge or skill. But this paper, by its erasures, its substitutions and its amendments, shows a nice sense of the shades of meaning in words, a comprehensive knowledge of the situation and a thorough appreciation of the grave results which might follow the use of terms which he either modified or erased. These various corrections of Mr. Seward's dispatch, by the rail-splitter of Illinois, form a most interesting addition to the history of Mr. Lincoln and that of our diplomacy.

The paper is one that needs few comments to bring its remarkable character before the reader. The burdens of home affairs, which then lay heavily on the new President, will readily occur to every student of our history. The countless demands upon his time gave little opportunity for reflection. Prompt action was required in all directions and in everything, small and great. But, as his handiwork, now for the first time presented, shows, he turned with perfect composure from the home to the equally threatening foreign field, and revised, with a master-hand, the most important

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dispatch that had as yet been prepared by Mr. Seward. The work shows a freedom, an insight into foreign affairs, a skill in the use of language, a delicacy of criticism and a discrimination in methods of diplomatic dealing which entitles Mr. Lincoln to the honors of an astute statesman.

The opening of the dispatch is Mr. Seward's first draft as corrected by himself. Mr. Lincoln's revision begins with the direction to leave out the paragraph "We intend to have a clear and simple record of whatever issue may arise between us and Great Britain." He seemed to see no reason for harshly reproving Mr. Dallas; and so he modified the expression, "The President is surprised and grieved," to the President "regrets." With the multiplicity of facts crowding his mind, he yet did not forget that no explanations had been demanded of Great Britain; and so he wrote in the margin: "Leave out, because it does not appear that such explanations were demanded." He did not care to reflect upon the body of our representatives abroad, and therefore he struck out the sentence on that subject which is marked. He crossed out "wrongful" and wrote "hurtful," showing a knowledge of the exact value of words worthy of a Trench. A wrongful act implies intention to harm, but in the word "hurtful" the charge of intent is not found. In the unsettled condition of the question of recognizing the Southern Confederacy, he did not deem it best to threaten; and so, instead of "No one of these proceedings will be *borne* by the United States," he first substituted "will pass unnoticed," for "borne," and then, strengthening his own expression somewhat, he finally wrote "will pass unquestioned."

In discussing the question of privateers, Mr. Lincoln wrote "omit" opposite another threat in the expression, "the laws of nations afford an adequate and proper remedy, and we shall avail ourselves of it." This last clause he struck out. An examination of the *fac-simile* will at once disclose the nature of the more extensive charges which were made. The close of the letter exhibits further examples of minor corrections which are of exceeding interest. The changes in one sentence are especially noteworthy. "If that nation will now repeat the same great crime," wrote Mr. Seward. "If that nation *shall* now repeat the same great *error*," said Mr. Lincoln. "Social *calamities*" he changed to "social *convulsions*," as if he had in mind that, in the end, the results

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might not prove calamitous, however great the convulsions. The paper will bear long study, and no one can examine it without acquiring a new and more exalted estimate of Mr. Lincoln's many-sided powers.

This dispatch is interesting, also, as evidence in answering the historical question, still earnestly discussed, as to whether Lincoln, Seward or Stanton was the master-spirit in the Cabinet during the war of the Rebellion. Each of these three great statesmen has advocates who claims an unquestioned pre-eminence for his chief. Some of them, with greater zeal and fidelity than knowledge and justice, seek to exalt the great Secretary of State or the great Secretary of War at the expense of the great War President. Surely no labor of love could be more futile. For, history will place each of these illustrious Americans on the most honored pedestals in the nation's pantheon and history will add that each of them supplemented, not overshadowed, his associates.

Stanton's iron will was felt at every important epoch of the war, but when his idea of policy conflicted with the purpose of the President the great War Minister was forced to yield. Seward, the ablest American diplomatist of the century, the American Talleyrand, found also in the man of the people a master who knew when to exact implicit obedience. This fact is demonstrated by the *fac-simile* of the draft of the famous dispatch reproduced in this issue of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. It is corrected by the hand of Abraham Lincoln in words that certify to his statesmanship, as, without question, they saved this nation from a war with England which, at that period, would probably have resulted.

Many efforts have been made to obtain a copy of the draft which I now publish; but, even when backed by the authority of Congress, they have failed in securing it.

In the Forty-fourth Congress, first session, in the Senate, on Tuesday, June 6, 1876, Mr. Boutwell offered, for present consideration, this resolution, to which, he said, he supposed there would be no objection:

"*Resolved*, That the President be requested, if not in his opinion inconsistent with the public interests, to furnish the Senate with a *fac-simile* copy of the original draft of the letter of the Secretary of State to the Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James, in May, 1861, in relation to the proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, recognizing the belligerent character of the Confederate States."

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The resolution was considered and agreed to by unanimous consent.

No reply was made to the resolution, and that motion is the last the public have heard of it thus far. There can be no objection to its publication now, and I take pleasure in presenting it to the readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

In order to make the comparison less difficult, I present, also, in full, the dispatch as it is printed in the official correspondence, page by page, and have noted the corrections made in the draft as addenda to each page.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

THE DISPATCH AS OFFICIALLY PRINTED.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams.

[Extracts.]

I.

No. 10.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, *May* 21, 1861.

SIR: This Government considers that our relations in Europe have reached a crisis in which it is necessary for it to take a decided stand, on which not only its immediate measures but its ultimate and permanent policy can be determined and defined. At the same time it neither means to menace Great Britain nor to wound the susceptibilities of that or any other European nation. That policy is developed in this paper.

The paper itself is not to be read or shown to the British Secretary of State, nor are any of its positions to be prematurely, unnecessarily or indiscreetly made known. But its spirit will be your guide. You will keep back nothing when the time arises for its being said with dignity, propriety and effect, and you will all the while be careful to say nothing that will be incongruous or inconsistent with the views which it contains. [*See Page* 1 *of fac-simile copy.*

II.

Mr. Dallas in a brief despatch of May 2 (No. 333), tells us that Lord John Russell recently requested an interview with him on account of the solicitude which his lordship felt concerning the effect of certain measures represented as likely to be adopted by the President. In that conversation the British secretary told Mr. Dallas that the then representatives of the Southern Confederacy were then in London, that Lord John Russell had not yet seen them, but that he was not unwilling to see them, unofficially. He further informed Mr. Dallas that an understanding existed between the British and French Governments which would lead both to take one and the same course as to recognition. His lordship then referred to the [Page 2.

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rumor of a meditated blockade by us of southern ports and a discontinuance of them as ports of entry. Mr. Dallas answered that he knew nothing on those topics, and therefore could say nothing. He added that you were expected to

III.

arrive in two weeks. Upon this statement Lord John Russell acquiesced in the expediency of waiting for the full knowledge you were expected to bring.

Mr. Dallas transmitted to us some newspaper reports of ministerial explanations made in Parliament.

You will base no proceedings on parliamentary debates further than to seek explanations when necessary and communicate them to the department.

The President regrets [Page 3.

On this page, after the word department, the President drew a line around the sentence "We intend to have a clear and simple record of whatever issue may arise between us and Great Britain," and wrote the words "Leave out." He also similarly encircled the words "is surprised and grieved," and rendered the phrase "The President regrets."

IV.

that Mr. Dallas did not protest against the proposed unofficial intercourse between the British Government and the missionaries of the insurgents.

It is due, however, to Mr. Dallas to say, that our instructions had been given only to you and not to him, and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, are appreciated.

Intercourse of any kind with the so-called commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them. Such intercourse would be none the less hurtful to us for being called unofficial, and it might be even more injurious, because we should have no means of knowing what points might be resolved by it. Moreover, unofficial [Page 4.

After the phrase "missionaries of the insurgents" the Secretary had added, "as well as against the demand for explanations made by the British Government," but the President wrote "Leave out, because it does not appear that explanations were demanded." As the Secretary wrote the second sentence, it read:

"It is due, however, to Mr. Dallas to say that our instructions had been given only to you, not to him, and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, *among our representatives abroad, are confessed and* appreciated."

The President wrote "Leave out" against the words italicized. In the last complete sentence on this page, also, the President substituted the word "hurtful" for "wrongful."

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V.

intercourse is useless and meaningless if it is not expected to ripen into official intercourse and direct recognition. It is left doubtful, here, whether the proposed unofficial intercourse has yet actually begun. Your own antecedent instructions are deemed explicit enough and it is hoped that you have not misunderstood them. You will, in any event, desist from all intercourse whatever, unofficial as well as official, with the British Government, so long as it shall continue intercourse of either kind with the domestic enemies of this country.

When intercourse shall have been arrested for this cause, you will communicate with this department and receive further instructions. [Page 5.

After the words "domestic enemies of this country" the Secretary had added "confining yourself simply to a delivery of a copy of this paper to the Secretary of State." "Leave out" wrote the President. "After doing this, you will communicate with this department," was the language of Mr. Seward. "When communication shall have been arrested for this cause, you will communicate with this department," was the President's emendation.

VI.

Lord John Russell has informed us of an understanding between the British and French Governments that they will act together in regard to our affairs. This communication, however, loses something of its value from the circumstance that the communication was withheld until after knowledge of the fact had been acquired by us from other sources. We know, also, another fact that has not yet been officially communicated to us, namely, that other European States are apprised by France and England of their agreement, and are expected to concur with or follow them in whatever measures they adopt on the subject of recognition. The United States have been impartial and just in all their conduct towards the several nations of Europe. They will not complain, however, of the combination now announced by the two leading powers, although they think they had a right to expect a more [Page 6.

VII.

independent if not a more friendly course from each of them. You will take no notice of that or any other alliance. Whenever the European governments shall see fit to communicate directly with us we shall be, as heretofore, frank and explicit in our reply.

As to the blockade, you will say that by our own laws and the laws of nature and the laws of nations, this Government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from national ports, which have been seized by the insurgents in the equitable form of blockade, is a proper means to that end. You will not insist that our blockade is to be respected if it be not maintained by a competent force, but passing by that question as not now a practical, or at least an urgent one, you will add that the blockade is now and

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it will continue to be so maintained, and we therefore expect it to be respected by Great Britain. You will add that we have [Page 7.

"As to the blockade," wrote the Secretary, "you will say that, by the laws of nature and the laws of nations, this Government has a clear right to suppress insurrections." For the phrase "the laws of nature," the President wrote "our own laws."

VIII.

already revoked the exequatur of a Russian consul who had enlisted in the military service of the insurgents, and we shall dismiss or demand the recall of every foreign agent, consular or diplomatic, who shall either disobey the federal laws or disown the federal authority.

As to the recognition of the so-called Southern Confederacy it is not to be made a subject of technical definition. It is, of course, direct recognition to publish an acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of a new power. It is direct recognition to receive its ambassadors, ministers, agents or commissioners officially. A concession of belligerent right is liable to be construed as a recognition of them. No one of those proceedings will pass unquestioned by the United States in this case.

Hitherto recognition has been moved only on the assumption that the so-called Confederate States are *de facto* a self-sustaining power. Now, after long forbearance, designed to soothe discontent and avert the need of civil war, the [Page 8.

"No one of these proceedings," wrote the Secretary, "will be borne by the United States in this case." The President first substituted "unnoticed" for "borne," and then corrected his own word by writing "will pass unquestioned."

IX.

land and naval forces of the United States have been put in motion to repress the insurrection. The true character of the pretended new state is at once revealed. It is seen to be a power existing in pronounciamento only. It has never won a field. It has obtained no forts that were not virtually betrayed into its hands or seized in breach of trust. It commands not a single port on the coast nor any highway out from its pretended capital by land. Under these circumstances, Great Britain is called upon to intervene and give it body and independence by resisting our measures of suppression. British recognition would be British intervention [Page 9.

X.

to create, within our territory, a hostile State by overthrowing this Republic itself.

* * * * * * * * * *

As to the treatment of privateers in the insurgent service you will say this is a question exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our

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own citizens or persons employed by our citizens, preying on the commerce of our country. If Great Britain shall choose to recognize them as lawful belligerents and give them shelter from our pursuit and punishment, the law of nations afford an adequate proper remedy. [Page 10.

After the words "overthrowing this Republic itself," Mr. Seward added this sentence, which Mr. Lincoln eliminated:

"When this act of intervention is distinctly performed, we, from that hour, shall cease to be friends, and *become once more as we have twice before been,*) be forced to be enemies of Great Britain."

Here the President seems at first to have decided to strike out only the words that are italicized, but subsequently he erased the entire sentence. After the last sentence on the page, following the words "proper remedy," the Secretary had written "and we shall avail ourselves of it. And while you need not say this in advance, be sure that you say nothing inconsistent with it." "*Out,*" wrote the President.

XI.

Happily, however, her Britannic Majesty's Government can avoid all these difficulties. It invited us, in 1856, to accede to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, of which body Great Britain was herself a member, abolishing privateering everywhere, in all cases and forever. You have already our authority to propose to her our accession to that declaration. If she refuses it can only be because she is willing to become the patron of privateering when aimed at our devastation.

These positions are not elaborately defended because to vindicate them would imply a possibility of our waiving them.

. . . . . .

We are not insensible of the grave importance of this occasion. We see how, upon the result of the debate in which we are engaged, a war may [Page 11.

After the second paragraph on this page the President wrote: "Drop all from this line to the end, and in lieu of it write 'This paper is for your own guidance only, and not to be read or shown to any one.'"

XII.

ensue between the United States and one, two or even more European nations. War in any case is as exceptional from the habits as it is revolting from the sentiments of the American people. But if it come, it will be fully seen that it results from the action of Great Britain, not our own; that Great Britain will have decided to fraternize with our domestic enemy either without waiting to hear, from you, our remonstrances and our warnings, or after having heard

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them. War in defence of national life is not immoral, and war in defence of independence is an inevitable part of the discipline of nations.

The dispute will be between the European and the American branches of the British race. All who belong to that race will especially deprecate it, as they ought. It may well be believed that men of every race and kindred will deplore it. A war not unlike it, between the same parties, occurred at the close of the last century. Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the error that Great Britain committed in provoking that contest. [Page 12.

For our "remonstrances and wrongs," on this page, the President substituted "our remonstrances and our warnings." "Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the crime," wrote Mr. Seward; "forty years of suffering for the error," wrote Mr. Lincoln.

XIII.

If that nation shall now repeat the same great error, the social convulsions which will follow may not be so long but they will be more general. When they shall have ceased it will, we think, be seen, whatever may have been the fortunes of other nations, that it is not the United States that will have come out of them with its precious constitution altered, or its honestly obtained dominions in any way abridged. Great Britain has but to wait for a few months and all her present inconveniences will cease with all our own troubles. If she take a different course, she will calculate for herself the ultimate as well as the immediate consequences, and will consider what position she will hold when she shall have forever lost the sympathies and affections of the only nation on whose sympathies and affections she has a natural claim. In making that calculation, she will do well to remember that, in the controversy she proposes to open, we shall be actuated by neither pride nor passion, nor cupidity nor ambition, but we shall stand simply on the principle of self-preservation, and that our cause will involve the independence of nations and the rights of human nature.

I am, sir, respectfully your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, ESQ., &c., &c., &c. [Page 13.

The subtile corrections on this page have been noted in the preceding introduction.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

In "The Mistakes of Grant," published in the December number, General Rosecrans says: "Four hours of precious time were lost by the delay of General Hazen, who, until he received orders through the regular channel, declined to be relieved by General Negley's division, sent for the purpose of enabling him to join his division commander." This seems to mean that from captiousness I delayed the movements of the army, on the eve of a great battle, four hours.

In this General Rosecrans is now, as he was then, mistaken.

The facts are that, on the afternoon of the 18th of September, I was posted with my brigade by my division commander, General Palmer, quite near to General Rosecrans' head-quarters, on the west side of the Chattanooga and Lafayette road, and several hundred yards away from it; so far as to be entirely out of the way of any passing troops.

This was just after withdrawing from Gower's Fort, a few miles to the south, and with orders from General Palmer to hold the command in readiness to join the division when notified. The command was kept ready and anxious to move all the afternoon, evening, and into the late night. Some time in the night, Major-General Negley came to me, saying he wished to place his division upon the ground occupied by my brigade. He brought me no message, he said nothing as to where I should go, nor did he intimate in any way that he came to relieve me, or that the movement of any troops depended upon that of mine, but merely that he wanted the ground that I occupied.

We were very anxious to end the march and get a little sleep, and were looking for the very orders now claimed to have been sent. General Negley had no troops with him, and seemed looking about for some good place to bivouac his command, and I supposed that that was what he was doing. About one hour later, Captain Druillard, of General Rosecrans' staff, brought me the order to move at once by the Lafayette road to Lee and Gordon's Mill, and join General Palmer, and on my way to report to General Rosecrans at his head-quarters, which I would pass.

In three minutes we were in motion, through fields and thick woods, the roads being filled with halted trains and troops asleep, and, on reaching General Rosecrans' head-quarters, I found there a great number of officers of rank, including his three corps commanders, the Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Dana, and Senator Nesmith of Oregon. General Rosecrans in a very pub-

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lic way blamed me for detaining his army, and not permitting myself to be relieved by General Negley, who, he said, was a "major-general" and a "division commander." I told him what I have said here.

General Palmer, afterward, told me that, on his receiving his orders to proceed to Lee and Gordon's Mill with his other two brigades, General Rosecrans directed him to proceed at once, and that he, Rosecrans, would relieve me as soon as he could get troops to take my place, and in the great haste, just before a battle, he had forgotten to do it or to say more to Negley than to go and occupy the ground where my troops were.

At all events, no order or intimation came to me, looking to my relief, until Captain Druillard brought it.

The road was full of sleeping troops, and it is very probable that they were halted by order, until my brigade should pass, and then forgotten. At all events, I was not notified. My position was entirely away from the road, and could not in the slightest way interrupt the movement of other troops, and when I did move, it was only a couple of miles, where the division remained unoccupied for eight hours. It is not possible that any delay of the army occurred from any fault of mine.

W. B. HAZEN.

II.

"OUIDA'S" vehement arraignment of science in "Some Fallacies of Science" hardly disproves Sir Lyon Playfair's assertions concerning its beneficial influence on the human race. The Khartoum expedition, the defeat of the French in the war of 1870, the case of the 30,000 Parisian shoemakers, the lauded freedom of the village cobbler and the servitude of the shoe-machine attendant, and the imaginary revival of the defunct Athenian to lament the social status of modern society, are topics that possess intrinsic interest for the military engineer and political economist, though entering not into the broad question—"Has science increased the happiness of mankind?"

"Ouida" responds in the negative. The fundamental idea discerned throughout her criticism appears to be a love of antiquity and its crude pagan institutions in lieu of the beneficent fruits of modern human inquiry. She does not deny that the inventions of the age are wonderful and startling, but rather that they fail to make mankind happier.

Whenever and wherever we are more comfortable the happier we are. The locomotive, the electric telegraph, the telephone, each may "harass" time and even create some degree of "brain-pressure," yet even "Ouida" would not choose the rumbling stage-coach for the railroad car, nor the ancient mounted postman for the United States Mail, nor for the hasty dispatch of an important communication would she elect the mail-bag in preference to the telegraph or telephone! The resources of civilization give comfort to the body and mind, and thus originates happiness.

The science of chemistry would indeed augment but little the growing happiness of society were it confined within the walls of the university and school of technology, but "Ouida" forgets that when it enters the sphere of common life, when the fertility of our soils so often depends on its formulæ in the preparation of manures and fertilizers, when whole communities resort to chemical

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analysis to confirm or explode the unhealthy reputation of our watering-places and country lands, it then presents aspects that make it worthy of the dignity of a benefactress.

The army of chemists yearly issuing from the German laboratories may possibly tend to deprive science of some of that esteem which it has so long enjoyed, but when the knowledge acquired is put to a practical test,—when it is made subservient to the demands of an ever-advancing civilization,—then is man benefited by it and made happier.

Perhaps "Ouida" may consider astronomy to be of little value to humanity. But did this branch of science fail to add to the sum of human happiness, by perfecting the art of navigation, and thus facilitating and encouraging the present uninterrupted social and commercial intercourse between nations? Does not this frequent joining of hands over seas and continents banish war in favor of arbitration? Are not men therefore happier? Again, are we to forget the progress in metal-working and in steam-engines, whereby the old-time voyage of months is shortened into one of seven days? Are travelers not made happier?

Geology in disproving the Mosaic cosmogony did but little toward making us happier; but when it opened up to us the mightiest blessing of the age—coal—thereby augmenting enormously the supply of fuel and of light, comfort and increased happiness ensued.

Can it be possible that "Ouida" has forgotten the wonders of our anesthetics? Of ether in every-day surgery, and of cocaine in operations on the eye? Possibly the author of the sentiments at issue may be testing the scientific world; if so, I have been but a feeble interpreter of its position as bearing on our comfort and happiness.

A. KINGSLEY GLOVER.

III.

IN Ouida's article "Some Fallacies of Science," she says, "The scientists take for granted that the education of the schools creates intelligence." Would any impartial reader derive this impression from a careful examination of the works of Tyndal, Huxley, Spencer and others? The scientists have doubtless urged many measures that must be ignored, or adopted only in part; they often attach undue importance to certain pet hobbies—as who does not?—but the writer cannot understand that representative scientists have ever taught directly or indirectly that schools create intelligence.

Does not their very insistence on certain points, as, for example, on training the mind to seek truth, cultivation of the powers of observation, and close attention to natural laws of development, go to show, on the contrary, that their faith is in the development, not the creation of intellectual power?

LUCY G. CROZIER.

IV.

I PROTEST against the epithet "Aristocratic" being applied to American Protestantism, and simply because her material wealth and intelligence have kept pace with the growth of the country. As perpetual as humanity is the unequal division of material possessions—one man must have more than some other man. The very idea of an equality of wealth is chimerical.

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Christianity makes no distinction between the rich man and the poor man as such—she says to all, "take up thy cross and follow me." Protestantism, therefore, opens its doors to both, and behold the rich and the poor are together. But wealth confers upon its possessor advantages which many of the poor cannot enjoy—notably, education, an opportunity to study, refinement, a finer appreciation of things. It is then not strange that the tastes of the well-to-do and of the poor should differ. And this I hold to be the only barrier, except envy or pride, which prevents the poor man from worshiping in the pew of the most pretentious Protestant church.

The member of the so-called "Aristocratic" church, whether wealthy or poor, generally appreciates "fine music." To his ear its magnificent flow is of the highest order of worship—to the "chapel Christian" (whose musical education has been neglected) it is "horrid stuff." Yet good music is not unchristian. The fault lies in an untrained ear, not in Protestantism.

Again, the member of the "Aristocratic" church appreciates a scholar in the pulpit. The "chapel Christian" does not take in the argument—he hears something which his limited views do not endorse. The sermon becomes an opiate, not a stimulant. Yet the "big preacher" is destroying infidelity and skepticism. So I hold that the congregation of the "Aristocratic" church represents primarily intelligence not wealth, appreciation not selfishness.

But Mr. Adams claims that fine clothes, not fine music and fine arguments, *do* elbow the plain Christian from the "wealthy church." And he may point to the "Te Deum" and the "Gloria" of what he is pleased to call the "housemaids and Irish laborers'" church as evidence that lofty music does not repel the vulgar ear; and to the measured lines of Latin (with Celtic accent) as proof that classic periods are not uninteresting to the poorly clad. But Mr. Adams forgets that the Protestant laity must *understand* what it hears—whilst the Catholic auditor is only expected to *listen*.

Permit me, however, to cite a few instances in which the plainly dressed sit in Christian fellowship next the "fine clad, gold-ringed" aristocrat.

One of the highest Episcopal churches in our city has no other members so actively conspicuous as its school-teachers and working women.

The writer visited, last Sunday, an up-town Presbyterian church in which there were enough shining coats and last-years' bonnets to show that plain people attend there.

Our wealthiest Methodist church, with Gothic architecture, heavenward spire, painted oriel, and loud-mouthed organ, is regularly attended by the poorest—including a rag-picker—and there would doubtless be others of his vocation could they appreciate the service. And I am persuaded that no member has ever said of him: "It would not be pleasant to find a ragged, dirty stranger in our cushioned pew next Sunday."

Fine clothes are not making our Protestantism more "aristocratic."

One word more in relation to what Mr. Adams has termed the "housemaids' and Irish laborers' church."

The Roman Catholic Church is not in harmony with our institutions nor abreast with our native American intelligence, accordingly its membership is supplied mostly from the ranks of the ignorant, poverty-stricken, abused Irish

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emigrant and his descendant. For this reason *only* is it the poor man's church. Notwithstanding this fact, the Roman church has privileges that only the rich man can enjoy. A desirable pew in the cathedral of our city cannot be rented for less than $22.50 per quarter.

Alas! thou outcast of Protestantism, do not leave thy "cocoa matting" expecting to kneel upon velvet carpet in the subdued and mellow light which filters through a hundred painted windows, unless thou hast $22.50 in filthy lucre with which to buy, not fine clothes, but the privilege of attending, even in rags, the church of the Irish working-man.

But is not this the church that Protestants may emulate "in more things than Architecture?" Yes, but not this particular edifice—not the Cathedral—but the one which washer-women really attend; where she can hear music, it is true, and Latin, but where there is less incense burned.

Then, in conclusion, the dividing line of the communicants of our Protestant churches is not traceable to wealth but to "taste"—the money division is not a marked one—for the rag-picker and I sit down together with the banker.

RICHARD DAILEY LANG.

V.

OUR present financial troubles have a remedy, I believe, in the following plan, which, in its essential features, should be ingrafted upon the Constitution as an amendment.

The plan I suggest is this: After the government has called in and destroyed its present currency or demand notes, and melted up into bullion its silver, having called in all in circulation (this bullion to be kept by the government in perpetuity), let it issue paper of the denominations of five, ten, twenty-five, fifty cents and one, two, five, ten, twenty dollar notes, and larger if needed, redeemable in silver at its market value, whenever presented, in sums of five dollars and upward at the United States Treasury or its designated branches, the scrip under sums of five dollars to be redeemed by silver of like face value; let there be coined five, ten, twenty-five, and fifty cent silver pieces of higher intrinsic value than at present, also gold as at present, if found necessary, but no silver dollars.

The enormous amount of silver of which the government would be custodian, the market value of which should always be in excess of the face-value of the paper issued, would keep our credit unfluctuating, so that our paper would be the same as gold the world over. It would be, in fact, the standard in place of the issue of the Bank of England.

The government paper issued upon this plan could be redeemed all at once, if so offered, a merit no other system of money ever had, as far as my knowledge goes, not excepting that of England. We should then have a position at the head of the finances of the world.

We have been troubled up to the present time, in the matter of our money, by the uncertainty of the law, it being liable to change as often as Congress changed, and this is the reason a constitutional amendment is needed to give it a degree of permanency it has never enjoyed.

We all, or nearly all, remember the great convenience of scrip over metal.

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This scrip, unlike that of years ago, would be, instead of a bare promise, a true representative of value; or, in other words, the old kind was like a promissory note, the suggested kind a mortgage.

This paper, if tendered, is to be taken by the government for all debts due it.

The government has from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000 in coined silver in its vaults, but has not power enough to force it into circulation under the present system. By the suggested plan its representative value would be used by the people readily, and to the manifest improvement of business.

The government can best afford to hold and guard the quantity of silver necessary to secure all of the paper needed for business purposes and is of right the maker of our currency notes. It already makes a part, why not all?

The government, unlike a bank, is not instituted solely for the object of making a profit on an investment. A bank studies its own interests before that of the people's. The government is the people, and consequently its interests are the people's interests.

We, as a people, inaugurated a system of government, the wonder of the world. The time has come when we can make another step in the direction of true civilization, by creating a system of money that will have a never-varying character, whenever and wherever found.

In fact, it seems as if the conditions surrounding our money question were such as almost to force us into this course as the only way out.

To my mind, this is the only plan that can be arrived at which is commensurate with the greatness of the subject.

Macaulay's school-boy could understand this system; can the most astute financier find a flaw in it?

IRVING BOARDMAN.

VI.

THE land question in the United States is fast coming to the front. We see here the bitter fruits which are more fully developed in Europe, and trace under different political institutions the same accumulation of wealth; the privilege and corruption of the few on the one hand, and the degradation and misery of the many on the other. Away back in what may seem the barbaric age, a beggar was little known, but now, with all our civilization and vast natural resources, how common is the tramp!

Our great public domain has been squandered away with astonishing haste, and even in our newest States free land for actual settlers is hard to find. At this rate, all the public land will soon be gone, and a man will be enabled to go to work for himself only by giving up part of his earnings to another for the soil which he uses.

That the people of the United States are beginning to see the iniquities of this system is evident from the remedial measures proposed for the ills of society. A bill was recently introduced into the Ohio, and subsequently into the Iowa legislature, which proposed to "provide against the evils resulting from periodical depressions in manufacturing industries and to promote agriculture." The method prescribed was to give every head of a family twenty acres of arable land on condition that he resided on it and cultivated it; other-

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wise it should revert to the State. For this he was to pay into the county treasury an annual tax of three per cent. of the value of his land, and moderate improvements were to be exempt from taxation. Should all the public land be gone the State had power to appropriate, by force if necessary, such lands owned by individuals or corporations as it deemed requisite to carry out the law. This was a recognition of the principle that even the poorest man has the right to earn for himself and his family an independent living, and not compete with his fellows in the great cities for barely enough to keep body and soul together. In levying taxes on land values the State would be taking for public uses a value made by the public, that is by the growth of population and the advancement of industrial processes.

This bill was an embodiment of the ideas now beginning to gain strength all over the country, and who can tell what the close of the century will see!

JOHN O. REEVES.

VII.

IT is generally assumed by persons unfamiliar with the subject and sometimes even by lawyers that before any State Legislature can give the right of suffrage to women an amendment to the State Constitution is essential.

There is no authority for such a proposition.

Since there is no prohibition in the Federal Constitution against the grant of female suffrage by the respective States, any denial of such an exercise of power must be sought in an express or implied prohibition in the State Constitution. Most of these constitutions are closely modeled on that of New York, and do no more than *guarantee* the exercise of suffrage at general elections to all adult male citizens. Massachusetts is a notable exception, and contains the expression "and no others;" but this or any similar express prohibition is entirely lacking in the great majority of constitutions. To find an implied prohibition in an organic law, the implication must be so essential that it may be said to be absolutely necessary to give the terms employed their natural sense. With the exception noted, I have been unable to find any such expression in the State constitutions.

In the absence of such prohibitions, either express or implied, there can be no doubt of the adequate power of the State Legislatures to enact such laws as they may see fit on this subject. For, as has been repeatedly held by our courts of last resort, the Legislature of the States composing this Union are no more restricted in the exercise of plenary legislative power than the British Parliament, of which Coke said, "it can do everything that is not physically impossible."

If restrictions on the exercise of their power are neither found in the Federal nor State Constitutions they simply do not exist, for our constitutions being written instruments, courts in this country have almost invariably refused to look outside their language for restrictions. The modern tendency in the case of the Federal Constitution, at least, is emphatically in the opposite direction, towards a widening of implied power by judicial interpretation.

During the last winter there have been introduced, in many of the Legislatures, bills granting to women the right of suffrage in municipal elections: towns, villages and cities. In all of the States where these measures are now

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under consideration there can be no doubt of the power of the Legislature to enact such laws.

One might, assuredly, though fearful of the effect of immediately and unrestrainedly admitting the entire female population to the ballot, yet find many and cogent considerations in favor of such a limited and tentative measure.

Some one has said that municipal administration is, after all, a matter of housekeeping on a great scale. Women from this stand-point would come to the exercise of suffrage with obvious advantages.

Men have so unquestionably failed in the administration of large cities, that the admission of women to a participation in their government would test the merits of female suffrage in a sphere where, even should it fail in producing all the results its advocates claim for it, yet it is hardly possible that failure would render municipal affairs worse than they now are. Many potent reasons will suggest themselves why improvement is rather to be anticipated.

AUGUSTUS A. LEVEY.

VIII.

THIS letter from Lord Byron to Shelley does not appear in any edition of the correspondence of either of the poets. It is addressed "to P. B. Shelley, Esqre, Signore Inglese, Pisa."

P^A *Sep^r* 8^th 1821.

DEAR SHELLEY: They pretend here to *two hundred scudi* for the carriage of about two-thirds of my furniture *only*, and *not for the* WHOLE. As this seems to me very exorbitant (and indeed whether it be so or no) I should prefer that you sent one from Pisa—*wagons*, *horses* and *drivers*—according to the fairest contract you can make with them for me. I will sanction it, be it more or less. It's the same thing, as the drivers, &c., wont *return* here, and the Tuscans will only have to come here first. The number of wagons wanted on the whole will be *eight*, the number of beasts what they please; the baggage is heavy, and whether drawn by horses, mules or oxen, is indifferent to me.

It was for *six* cars only that the indigenous masters of horse asked two hundred crowns, i.e., half a years rent of the house for a transport of chattels. Send me Etrurians at their own price, for of the two, I prefer being cheated by the new comers to continuing to minister to the ancient scoundrels of this remarkable city.

When I talked to you about purchase of other movables, I meant such as may be requisite to complete mine in a new mansion. Of course, I meant things requisite, according to the premises, and did not mean to bind the [party *] to an exact sum or to a few scudi more or less, according to what was wanted. Of course, you have seen *this* house and *that* house and can judge. You may do it now or wait till I come—as you please.

Believe me yours ever and truly

BYRON.

P. S.—Expedite the baggage waggons. Will wait only now for those to march. Make my remembrances to everybody I don't know and my respects to all I do.

* Word destroyed.

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No. 17.

~~No. 10~~ Department of State,
Washington, May 21st 1861.

~~No. 6~~ X

Mr. Dallas in a brief dispatch of May 2d (No. 333) tells us that Lord John Russell recently acquisted an interview with him on account of the solicitude which His Lordship felt concerning the effect of certain measures represented as likely to be adopted by the President. In that conversation the British Secretary told Mr. Dallas that the three Representatives of the Southern Confederacy were then in London, that Lord John Russell had not yet seen them, but that he was not unwilling to see them unofficially. He farther informed Mr. Dallas that an understanding exists between the British and French Governments which would lead both to take one and the same course as to recognition. His Lordship then referred to the

~~C. F. Adams Esqr.~~

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the rumor of a meditated blockade by us of Southern ports and a discontinuance of them as ports of entry. Mr. Dallas answered that he knew nothing on those topics and therefore could say nothing. He added that you were expected to arrive in two weeks. Upon this statement Lord John Russell acquiesced in the expediency of waiting for the full knowledge you were expected to bring.

Mr. Dallas transmitted to us some newspaper reports of Ministerial explanations made in Parliament.

You will base no proceedings on Parliamentary debates further than to seek explanations when necessary and communicate them to this Department. We intend to have a clear and simple record of whatever issue may arise between us and Great Britain.

clear out.

The President regrets to be surprised and grieved

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grieved that Mr. Dallas did not protest against the proposed unofficial intercourse between the British Government and the insurgents, as well as against the demand for explanations made by the British Government. It is due however to Mr. Dallas to say that our instructions had been given only to you and not to him, and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ are appreciated.

Intercourse of any kind with the so-called Commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them. Such intercourse would be none the less hurtful for being called unofficial, and it might be even more injurious, because we should have no means of knowing what points might be resolved by it. unofficial discussion.

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unofficial intercourse is useless and meaningless, if it is not expected to ripen into official intercourse and direct recognition. It is left doubtful here whether the proposed unofficial intercourse has yet actually begun. Your own ~~previous~~ instructions are deemed explicit enough, and it is hoped that you have not misunderstood them. You will on any event desist from all intercourse whatever, unofficial as well as official with the British Government, so long as it shall continue intercourse of either kind with the domestic enemies of this country, confining yourself simply to a delivery of a copy of this paper to the Secretary of State.

*After doing this you will communicate with this Department and receive further directions.

*Under instructions, please have a written answer for the courier to take back.

Leave out,

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Lord John Russell has informed us of an understanding between the British and French Governments that they will act together in regard to our affairs. This communication however loses something of its value from the circumstance that the communication was withheld until after our knowledge of the fact had been acquired by us from other sources We know also another fact that has not yet been officially communicated to us namely that other European States are apprized by France and England of their agreement and are expected to concur with or follow them in whatever measures they adopt on the subject of recognition. The United States have been impartial and just in all their conduct towards the several nations of Europe. They will not complain however of the combination now announced by the two leading powers, although they think they had a right to expect a more independent if not a more

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friendly course from each of them.
You will take no notice of that or
any other alliance. Whenever the
European governments shall see
fit to communicate directly with
us we shall be as heretofore
frank and explicit in our reply.
As to the blockade, you will
say that by the laws of nations
and of nations this government has
a right to suppress insurrection.
An exclusion of commerce from national
ports which have been seized by the
insurgents, in the equitable form of
blockade, is a proper means to that
end. You will not admit that our
blockade is not to be respected
if it be not maintained by a
competent force - but you will
add that it is now and it will
continue to be so maintained;
and therefore we expect it to
be respected by Great Britain.
You will add that we have

that question as not
now a practical one,
or at least our
urgent or

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already revoked the Exequatur of a Russian Consul who had enlisted in the Military service of the insurgents and we shall dismiss or demand the recall of every foreign agent, Consular or Diplomatic who shall either disobey the Federal laws or disown the Federal authority.

As to the recognition of the so called Southern Confederacy, it is not to be made a subject of technical definition. It is of course ~~grant~~ direct recognition to publish an acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of a new power. It is ~~grant~~ direct recognition to receive its ambassadors Ministers agents or commissioners officially. A concession of belligerent rights is liable to be construed as a recognition of them. No one of these proceedings will ~~be borne~~ impressed by the United States in this case.

Hitherto recognition has been moved only on the assumption that the so-called Confederate States are de facto a self sustaining power. Now after long forbearance, designed to soothe discontent and avert the need of civil war,

the

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the land and naval forces of the United States have been put in motion to repress the insurrection. The true character of the pretended new State is at once revealed It is seen to be a Power existing in pronunciamento only. It has never won a field. It has obtained no forts that were not virtually betrayed into its hands or seized in breach of trust. It commands not a single port on the coast nor any highway out from its pretended Capital by land Under these circumstances Great Britain is called upon to intervene and give it body and independence ~~existing by~~ by force of our measures of suppression. British recognition would be British intervention

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vention to create within our own territory a hostile state by overthrowing this Republic itself. When this act of intervention is distinctly performed, we from that hour shall cease to be friends and (become once more, as we have twice before been,) forced to be enemies of Great Britain

As to the treatment of privateers in the insurgent service you will say that this is a question exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our own citizens or persons employed by our citizens, preying on the commerce of our country. If Great Britain shall choose to recognise them as lawful belligerents, and give them shelter from our pursuit and punishment, the laws of nations afford an adequate and proper remedy, and we shall avail ourselves of it. And while you need not to say this in advance, be sure that you say nothing inconsistent with it.

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Happily, however the Britannic Majesty's Government can avoid all these difficulties It invited us in 1856 to accede to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, of which body Great Britain was herself a member, abolishing privateering everywhere in all cases and for ever. You already have our authority to propose to her our accession to that declaration. If she refuse to receive it it can only be because she is willing to become the patron of privateering when aimed at our devastation.

These positions are not elaborately defended now, because to vindicate them would imply a possibility of our waiving them.

We are not insensible of the grave importance of this occasion. We see how upon the result of the debate in which we are engaged, a war may

[Illegible] the British [illegible] country [illegible] the [illegible] of it, and "This paper is for your own guidance only, and not to be read, or shown to any one."

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events, between the United States and one, two, or even more European nations War in any case is as exceptionable from the habits as it is revolting from to the sentiments of the American people. But if it come it will be fully seen that it results from the action of Great Britain, not our own, that Great Britain will have decided to fraternize with our domestic enemy either without waiting to hear from you our remonstrances and our warnings or after having heard them. War in defence of national life is not immoral, and war in defence of independence is an inevitable part of the discipline of nations.

The dispute will be between the European and the American branches of the British race. All who belong to that race will especially deprecate it as they ought. It may well be believed that men of every race and kindred will deplore it. A war not unlike it occurred between the same parties occurred at the close of the last century Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the error that Great Britain committed in provoking that contest

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If that nation ~~will~~ shall now repeat the same great error the social convulsions which will follow may not be so long but they will be more general. When they shall have ceased it will, we think, be seen, whatever may have been the fortunes of other nations that it will not be upon the United States that will have come out of them with its present Constitution altered or its honestly obtained dominion in any degree abridged. Great Britain has but to wait a few months and all her present inconveniences will cease with all our own troubles. If she take a different course she will calculate for herself the ultimate as well as the immediate consequences, and will consider what position she will hold when she shall have forever lost the sympathies and the affections of the only nation in whose sympathies and affections she has a natural claim. In making that calculation she will do well to remember that in the controversy she proposes to open we shall be actuated by neither pride nor passion, nor cupidity, nor ambition; but we shall stand simply on the principle of self preservation and that our cause will involve the independence of nations and the rights of human nature.

I am, Sir, Respectfully your obedient servant
W. H. S.

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Charles Francis Adams, Esq.ᵉ
&c. &c. &c.

No. 10.

Department of State,
Washington, 20th May, 1861.

Sir:

This Government considers that the ~~matters from which~~ relations in which it has reached ~~have arisen~~ a crisis in which it is necessary for it to take a decided stand ~~position~~ on which to rest ~~may be~~ its immediate measures, but its attitude and ~~during~~ permanent policy can be determined and depend. At the same time, it seems the means to mean ~~not to~~ give Notice not to ~~mean~~ the susceptibilities of this or any other European nation that policy is ~~shaped~~ determined ~~has been~~ in this respect. It is not to be read or shown to the British Secretary of State, nor any part of it ~~read~~ communicated, ~~or shown~~ unnecessarily to him. Its spirit will be your guide. You will keep back nothing, when the time arrives ~~that it~~ for being said with propriety and effect, and you will all the while be careful to say nothing that will be incompatible, or inconsistent with the views which it contains.

[1]

The paper itself is not to be read or shown to the British Secretary of State nor any of its portions to be prematurely unnecessarily or indiscreetly made known. But its spirit will be your guide. You will keep back nothing, when the time arrives for being said with propriety and effect, and you will all the while be careful to say nothing that will be incompatible, or inconsistent with the views which it contains.

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